

The *Ryedale Historian*

Number 16

1992-1993



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Editorial

The *Ryedale Historian* first appeared in 1965; this is the first issue John McDonnell has not edited. In those nearly thirty years enthusiasm for local and family history has grown by leaps and bounds, witness the crowded tables and queues for microfilm readers in every County Record Office in the land. Though its finances were sometimes very precarious, the *Historian* appeared regularly every two years, giving those people who might otherwise have kept their valuable knowledge to themselves, the opportunity to fulfil the powerful impulse to create and to preserve. In its own way, the record they made should be as useful, lasting, and appropriate to the dales and moors as the constructions of an earlier time - bridges, waymarks, and dry stone walls.

Philip Rahtz writes:- In the world of history there has been considerable theoretical debate about the role and importance of local history. Many eminent historians, including those specialising in British topics, have at times been somewhat dismissive of local history as being parochial, of little wider interest to major topics of synthesis; there has also been unfortunately, though largely unspoken, hints that local history is best left to amateurs and local historians.

There has been a change, notably due to the influence of the French Annales school of historical thought towards a recognition of the importance of the kind of detail that can only be assembled at local level. Le Roy Ladurie, for instance, based his classic study of the Cathar community of Montaillou¹ on the most detailed source material available in that area. This threw a far wider light on the social, political, economic and religious aspirations of this group of heretical French peasants than any amount of more generalising studies might have achieved.

In England, many of the nationally important syntheses of the Middle Ages - notably social and economic aspects - have been based similarly on close study of manorial account rolls, court proceedings, and on wills and probate inventories - see for example, Rodney Hilton's equally classic, '*A Medieval Society*'².

John McDonnell has always been aware of the importance of the local history and archaeology of North Yorkshire, and this has guided his editorial policy. As Editor of the *Historian*, he has exercised great care to ensure that all material published is vetted and edited, so that it shall be 'academically respectable'. The result is that our journal is taken by academic libraries, is widely used by professional historians, and is frequently quoted in articles and books: its reputation is academically high. John's editorials over the quarter of a century of the *Historian* were always apt and pithy. Although a historian by training, most of his contributions have been based on

field work, though he also wrote some 'straight' history, including an account of a 16th century murder case³. In the fifteen issues that have been published there is a wide variety of themes. It is instructive to list the principal ones to show the variety and range of material John has been able to commission.

History

Parish, dale or geographical region.
Genealogy and place names.
Personal biography.
Agricultural techniques.
Emigration.

Field Surveys - informed by written sources

Water management (notably of abbeys)
Roads, tracks, ways, fairs and markets, beacons, boundaries.
Crosses
Inns
Earthworks
Forests
Settlement patterns and village surveys.

Buildings

Historic houses
Abbeys and churches
Vernacular architecture
Other structures (bridges etc.)

Art

Sculpture (including a piece by John's youngest contributor then (1980) aged 14, on the Stonegrave cross).

Archaeology

Excavation reports
Finds distribution
Industrial Archaeology
Finally, we should stress the value of the numerous reviews of books relating to North Yorkshire which have kept our readers abreast of current research and, we hope, boosted sales!

Once again the Society gratefully acknowledges grants towards the cost of publication from Ryedale District Council and the North York Moors National Park. The Editor would like to thank Graham Lee for his help with illustrations.

1. E. Le Roy Ladurie, 'Montaillou: Cathars and Catholics in a French Village, 1294-1324', Penguin, 1990.
2. Rodney Hilton, 'A Medieval Society,' Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966.
3. John McDonnell, 'A Sixteenth Century Murder Case', *Ryedale Historian* 4, 1969

Conservation Archaeology in the North York Moors National Park

by Graham Lee

This piece serves as a progress report following on from the article by Robert Iles in the last volume of the Ryedale Historian (Number 15, 1990-91) which provides the relevant background and context. It is also interesting to examine the direction which archaeology is now taking in this 40th anniversary of the Moors designation as a National Park.

I joined the National Park in April 1990 as their Archaeological Conservation Officer, having spent the preceding seven years working for the North Yorkshire County Archaeology Section, based in Northallerton. After working there variously on aerial photographic interpretation and mapping, the development of archaeological records and planning control, I was attracted, like Robert Iles, by the diversity of responsibilities that the post offers, in particular the emphasis on conservation archaeology correctly integrated with overall environmental conservation.

Below I shall run through the range of work and projects with which I have been involved for the last year and a half, divided into three closely interlinked sub-headings: Advice, Conservation and Management, which represent different aspects of site protection.

Advice

This covers a wide range of duties and includes the following specific responsibility, namely "To foster interest in and support for the conservation of the archaeological heritage of the National Park". I regard this as one of the most important aspects of the post since it is only by increasing awareness and understanding that many people will come to appreciate and hence develop a desire to conserve their heritage.

Advice can take many forms, from simply answering letters or telephone calls at the office in Helmsley, through public talks, lectures and guided walks, to interviews with the media. Such activities, however time-consuming, have a particularly important role to play if we are to successfully influence attitudes in present and future generations. This subheading also involves a considerable amount of work monitoring and providing advice on consultations relating to development proposals, land-use changes, farm and forestry grants. This ensures that important archaeological features and deposits are fully acknowledged and preserved, either in-situ or, where unavoidably disturbed, in the form of adequate records.

Conservation

Moving on, it is very pleasing to be able to report that the National Park has now instigated a scheme to promote archaeological conservation projects. This aims to encourage active co-operation with landowners in ensuring the survival of important features from the many

archaeological landscapes which make up the National Park.

Increasingly nowadays conservation is one of the main functions of professional archaeological work. Excavation, contrary to public opinion, now generally only occurs when all other means of preserving a site have been exhausted, or as a very specific research tool. Often destructive to the features it seeks to examine, it is also increasingly expensive, with the actual excavation costs on average only one third of the total budget required to complete the essential post-excavation archive. Research excavation in its turn should seek to answer specific questions as part of a carefully considered strategy. Other than to achieve these objectives or as a "rescue" tool (the need for which I would hope to keep to an absolute minimum) excavation has a very limited role to play in modern conservation archaeology.

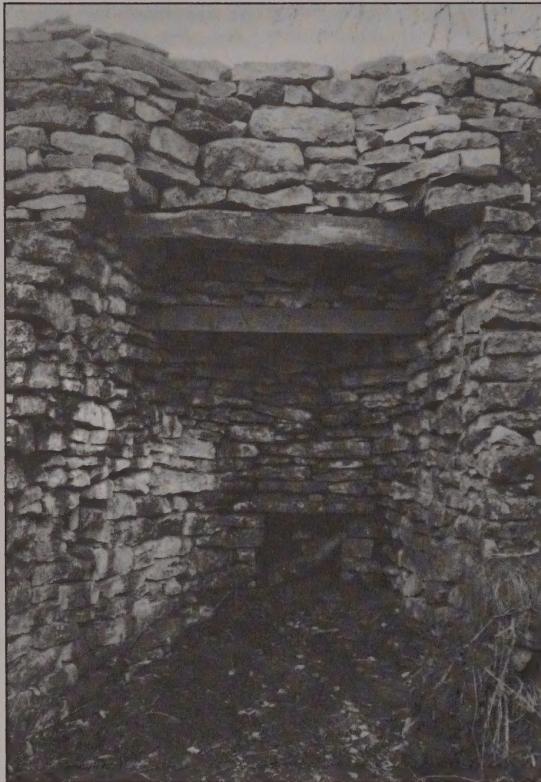
Many of the urgent conservation problems facing the Park at present relate to structures, often of industrial origin, which are still standing ie. they have yet to reach a stable state of repose (often comprising partial or complete collapse). Many have been neglected for decades, if not centuries, and suffered weathering, robbing, and other forms of erosion. Until quite recently the importance and even the existence of industrial monuments such as these had been largely ignored except by a small handful of people, both professionals and amateurs. Of the latter the Cleveland Industrial Archaeological Society deserve special mention and I have gained particular assistance from John Owen and John Harrison. Time is now running out for many of these monuments, and our task is also hindered by an incomplete data-base to help assess their relative importance and enable us to develop conservation priorities.

The National Park contains an impressive range of such monuments, particularly of the extractive industries: ironstone (many mine sites, with a fine ventilation chimney still standing at Warren Moor), alum (important complexes along the coast, particularly at Boulby, often associated with impressive rock cut or stone built harbours), jet (along the coast and the NW sector of the Park) and stone quarrying for lime- (often with associated kilns) and sandstone. Conservation of earthworks, although they may represent features which are millennia older, relates substantially more to management techniques to control vegetation/tree growth and reduce/repair erosion since virtually all will have reached a relatively stable condition.

Under the archaeological conservation scheme a variety of projects relating to different sites and periods have been completed to date. These include:

1. Old Byland Lime Kilns (SE 5453 8570): This row of 4 Listed 19th Century kilns was drawn to the attention of the Park by their owner who was concerned about the decay of one of the structures. Built of limestone blocks, two of the four only survived as shells, while a third had suffered the collapse of the front upper stonework and (or perhaps due to) the failure of the supporting timber lintel. Evidence for tree roots amidst the fallen stonework suggested a compounded problem.

The fourth, and most westerly example, appeared to survive in a generally good condition although the timber lintel was decaying. After examination of the problems and projected repair costs it was decided to conserve the Westernmost kiln and this was completed in March 1991 with the replacement of two timber lintels (evidence of the second having appeared during the repair) and consolidation of the stonework. For safety reasons the collapsing kiln was fenced off and a warning notice erected. This example again served to highlight the need for an adequate data-base since, although many lime kilns are known to exist in the Park, satisfactory records exist for very few. The grant given covered approximately 90% of the costs.



Old Byland lime kilns, after conservation. North York Moors National Park.

2. Fyling Deer Park Wall (Centred NZ 9332 0292): This feature was drawn to the Department's attention by a local resident concerned for its future. The deer park itself, comprising some 83 hectares astride Ramsdale Beck, was created in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries by the Abbot of Whitby but had apparently ceased to exist by 1577. It was defined by a ditch, now mostly in-filled but still discernable, within a low earthen bank which was surmounted in turn by a stone wall. The latter survives up to some 1.4m in height and although robbed of its original stonework in places and showing a variety of repairs the southern section appears to include good surviving lengths of the original wall. These appear as carefully laid courses of dressed stone with interpolations of six much larger stones arranged in the form of a cross, visible on both sides of the wall, at approximately 15m intervals. Each of these larger stones would have taken several men to lift and lay in place and they are far more massive than necessary to reinforce the structure of the wall. It has therefore been suggested that all this additional effort was intended to symbolise the monastic ownership of the park.

Sections of the wall had become dilapidated and damaged by stock and a first phase of repairs have now been carried out along some 350m of the wall's southernmost sector, aiming to keep necessary disturbance to a minimum particularly with reference to the stone crosses. A grant of 100% was given.



Fyling Deer Park Wall, showing one of the stone crosses (scale one metre)
North York Moors National Park

3. Hut Circle, Scarth Wood Moor (SE 4672 9929): Again brought to the department's attention by a local resident, this feature had been revealed by a combination of bracken cutting, peat shrinkage and erosion. Visible as a ring of stones protruding from the peat, mostly clearly exposed in the NW sector, some 8m in diameter, this was thought most likely to represent the foundations of a circular house, perhaps Bronze Age in date. In order to prevent further erosion or collapse of the fragmentary walling the site was recorded (by the Cleveland County Archaeology Section) and then reburied in association with the site owners, the National Trust. A 50% grant was given.

4. Formal Pond, Ingleby Manor (NZ 5866 0582): The National Park on this occasion was contacted by the owner seeking assistance. Once part of a complex of ponds to the NE of the Manor House, as engraved by Johnnes kip at the beginning of the eighteenth century, this is now the only one to survive. Defined by a stone wall, it is rectangular in shape though somewhat overgrown and part infilled at the Eastern end. A short section of the pond's walling had slumped outwards, undermined by water erosion, causing the water to drain away. This may have been due to the buried presence of a former channel which would have connected this to the next pond in the series. The wall was taken down, the hollow behind it in-filled and sealed (no formal channel was observed) and the wall rebuilt in its previous but apparently not original form (due apparently to at least one set of previous repairs).

I would be happy to receive any suggestions where conservation work is thought to be required that readers would care to pass on to me. There are a number of other topics on-going at present and the intention is to try to be more proactive in the future.

Rosedale Ironstone Industry:

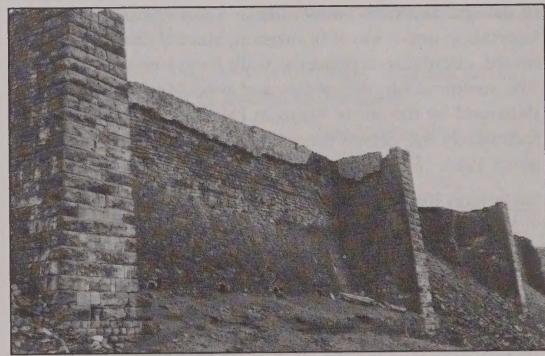
The most significant conservation effort at present, however, is directed towards the remains of the Rosedale Ironstone Industry which the Park has long been interested in and concerned for. An initial survey of the industrial landscape was funded by the National Park Committee in 1989 and this located 198 separate archaeological features, 172 of which could be identified, representing a range of activities associated with the extraction, processing and transport of ironstone, and with the accommodation of the workforce.

Ironstone mining took place in Rosedale between c.1856 and 1926, which although only on the periphery of the main Cleveland Hills mining region still produced several million tons of ore and was mined in its heyday (c.1864-8) at around 9 separate locations in the dale. However, due to uneven preservation the remains in Rosedale are now the most complete range to survive, presenting an important relict industrial landscape.

In association with English Heritage, local amateurs and the 1989 survey report, initial conservation priorities were identified, all of them previously Scheduled as Ancient Monuments. These are the North and South sets of

calcining kilns, and the ventilation chimney, at the East Mines (Centred SE7055 9850). In order to assess their structural condition and options for consolidation a report was commissioned, funded by English Heritage, and this has now been received. In summary this shows that all three structures are basically sound but suffering gradual deterioration due to weathering and neglect. A programme of repairs and consolidation is currently under review and it is hoped, subject to available finance, to commence works to the surviving bay of the North (or Iron) kilns by the Summer of 1992. This work has become increasingly urgent since part of the surviving upper firebrick lining collapsed last winter and has consequently weakened a section of the back retaining wall. A management agreement is being drawn up with the Estate, who have been interested and helpful throughout, to facilitate the above programme and regularise access (though only on foot and along the track of the former railway line). When safety considerations allow it is hoped to provide low-key interpretation, perhaps in the form of a guided walk past the complex.

Recent survey work has also led to an appreciation of the considerable engineering skill and effort expended on the construction of the former railway which linked the mines with the blast furnaces to the north. This includes a range of substantial viaducts above a series of finely built stone culverts to cross and channel the number of deep, often steep-sided gills which the line encounters on its route from the East Mines to the Ingleby Incline (NZ 6070 0723). Repairs are about to be undertaken at Wares Gill culvert (NZ 6226 0183), upper Farndale, while the condition of a number of others need to be monitored and included in a future repairs programme.



Rosedale East Mines: Remains of North (Iron) Kilns, showing partial collapse of upper fire-brick lining. North York Moors National Park.

Management

This third topic is particularly relevant for the National Park Committee's own properties - Levisham Estate (including Levisham and Lockton High Moors) and Cawthorn Camps. Also included under this heading is the discipline of field survey, important for the supply of up-to-date information which is essential both for site management and interpretation/presentation.

Levisham Estate, acquired by the National Park in 1976

to protect an area of moorland important to both naturalists and archaeologists, has recently been subject to an archaeological survey to address the following issues:

- 1) Assess the relative significance and condition of the archaeological remains.
- 2) Make recommendations on the future archaeological management of the Estate.
- 3) Suggest areas deserving further, more detailed, archaeological investigation.
- 4) Make recommendations as to their suitability for presentation/interpretation.

Although the prehistoric landscape of dykes, enclosures and round barrows on Levisham Moor are generally well known, facets of its later use (including the site of a medieval farm belonging to Malton Priory) are less readily appreciated and many of the peripheral areas have been little studied (with the exception of Rhumbard Snout, currently being examined by Derek and Edna King).

Funded by English Heritage and carried out by Caroline Atkins the survey has helped to evaluate and reassess the archaeological landscape. It located over 30 previously unrecorded sites and features and added considerably to our knowledge of the area, in particular locating a probable prehistoric field system surviving on Lockton High Moor. The Park is hoping to start work on a programme of presentation/interpretation within the next 12 months.

At Cawthorn, specifically acquired by the National Park Committee in 1983 to protect and interpret the four Roman Camps, the original management plan is currently under review. This will address the further interpretation of the site and deal with continued management of site vegetation and control of erosion, since a number of areas on the circular interpretative walk have become worn. The surrounding plantations and woodlands were badly damaged by the snow storm in December 1990 but fortunately the camps themselves have been clear of trees since 1984.

Wykeham Estate Survey:

My first major task on joining the Park, the completion of this field survey, was achieved by July 1991 with the production of a draft report. Begun by Robert Iles, this was designed to help identify and thus improve the management of the important range of archaeological monuments which exist there. The Estate, which runs from the River Derwent in the south as far north as Troutdale, includes part of Wykeham Forest, the majority of which has been leased to the Forestry Commission and which contains surviving elements of a very important multi-phase prehistoric landscape. Upstanding remains include some 50 round barrows, over 20 square barrows, 6 dykes, a range of enclosures (with at least one surviving hut circle) and possible traces of field systems which may be associated.

As with the Danby Moors survey, carried out by Robert Iles as the first part of the project, fieldwork was forced to

concentrate on areas where features had been recorded previously, as there was insufficient time to walk the whole 29 square kilometres of the Estate. There remains high potential for further sites and material to be discovered in the future.

The survey results also include a compilation of the cropmark evidence. Those recorded from the rich agricultural land of the Tabular Hills to the North of Wykeham village show a landscape of former roadways on the same alignment as, but distinct from, the present road system, itself a fossilisation of earlier routes. Complexes of enclosures occur at intervals of approximately 1-1.5 kilometres, perhaps indicating a scattering of farms, very similar in appearance to the present pattern of settlement and land-use.

The survey recorded a wide range of features, over 220 in number, which in addition to the prehistoric sites included the remains of two Warrens (rabbit farms) located to the north of the Tabular escarpment in Troutdale, and two very fine ice houses. It is intended to publish the joint results of both surveys in the near future.



Ice House of Hutton Buscel, showing brickwork of dome with arched entrance tunnel leading away to the left. North York Moors National Park.

Forestry:

The survey results also helped to review current forestry management practices and led to a number of recommendations, some already implemented. All the Moor's forest areas contain archaeological features and some, like Wykeham and Dalby, contain extensive landscapes. The Park is consulted on all major forestry proposals (such as clear felling/replanting) but it was noted during fieldwork in the summer of 1990 that even relatively minor operations, such as the thinning of trees within forestry compartments, could have significant archaeological implications. This was due in particular to the use and movement of wheeled vehicles across sites about which the contractors (who now carry out the bulk of forestry operations) were insufficiently aware. This originated from a lack of detailed information available to the Forestry Commission and steps have been taken to help remedy this. The National Park is now consulted on all forestry operations and comprehensive precautions are taken to locate and identify all relevant archaeological features within a contractor's work area. It is also hoped

to organise an archaeological project to survey of all the forest areas within the Park, jointly funded by the Park, Forestry Commission and English Heritage, to enhance and up-date the information which is currently available for management purposes, since the majority of these records are now 20 years out-of-date.

Other survey work has been carried out by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments of specific sites (including Whorlton and Mulgrave Castles) and the results are awaited with interest.

Research:

It is worth repeating here that the grant scheme for archaeological research run by the Park continues to be available to support relevant projects and publications. In the present financial year this scheme continues its support for this excellent local journal, has supported Grace Dixon's publication on the Townships of Pinchinthorpe and Hutton Lowcross, and has so far commissioned the recording of one of the culverts along the Rosedale-Battersby ironstone railway line prior to repair work. As Robert Iles mentioned in the previous article, grants are generally available to meet up to 50% of the costs of a project, except where this has actually been commissioned by the Park.

Also under the publications heading the Park, in association with the Council for British Archaeology, is currently in the process of organising the re-printing of an updated version of Don Spratt's outstanding review of the region's prehistoric and Roman archaeology which should by now be available.

Having only been in post for some eighteen months as I write this, it is quite clear that the more acquainted I become with the detail of the Moors' archaeological landscapes the more work will be revealed, particularly for conservation and management, but also for extra survey information to fill in the gaps. Even despite the excellent tradition of field survey in this area, as exemplified by Raymond Hayes, it is quite clear that wherever you look other than perhaps on the highest moorland, there are "new" features to record, sometimes infilling detail in a previously known pattern, sometimes extending that pattern with completely new information.

My work, integrated with that of the Park as a whole, also offers many good opportunities for the interpretation and presentation of monuments and it is hoped that the future allocation of time and resources will allow this area to be further developed. At present I am involved in discussion with the Forestry Commission regarding the conservation and presentation of a number of warren sites in Dalby Forest for an interpretative trail. (For a recent survey of these remains see the Spratt and Harris article).

As ever there remains endless opportunities for amateur

involvement, particularly in all types of survey work and more specifically in the Settlement Studies Group, which has been established to examine the origins and development of settlements throughout the Park and which aims to meet perhaps twice a year. Another idea being circulated these days is the "adopt-a-site" scheme, whereby volunteers monitor the condition of monuments local to their area, thus assisting in the provision of up-to-date information for management purposes (which would often otherwise be virtually unobtainable). This is particularly helpful for drawing attention to any instances of damage or erosion so that remedial measures can be initiated with the minimum of delay. This idea is still relatively new in this country but initial results from Scotland and Devon are encouraging.

For people interested in learning more about the wider spectrum of archaeological activities throughout the National Parks in England and Wales I would close by recommending the recent "Archaeology in National Parks" published by the National Park Staff Association and edited by Robert Iles and Robert White (Archaeologist for the Yorkshire Dales). I would also offer my thanks to the many archaeologists, both amateur and professional, in the region and to my colleagues in the Park who have helped make these first months so productive and enjoyable.

References and Suggested Further Reading:

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Spratt D.A. (ed.) 1982 and forthcoming Prehistoric and Roman Archaeology of North-East Yorkshire

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White RF & Iles R (eds) 1991 Archaeology in National Parks

The Smugglers' Road from Loftus to Bilsdale

by J.R. Garbutt.

It was about 1820 when William Garbutt of Loftus Mill first became involved in smuggling. John King, a brewer of Kirkleatham, and John Andrews of the White House at Saltburn were joint owners of a cutter, the 'Morgan Rattler', a very fast vessel. She was used to run cargoes of wine, gin, brandy, silk and Flemish lace to various places along the coast from Runswick Bay to Marske.

Some of the cargoes were hidden at Loftus Mill and delivered round Loftus in the miller's wagon. The rest were carried away by pack-horse. The horses used were Cleveland Bays because, if need be, they could cover a hundred miles in a day, and so could get from the mill at Loftus to the sign of the Withered Tree in Ladhill Gill under cover of darkness.

The road they travelled was from the mill to Gate House in Danby Dale (a farm opposite the road up to Lumley House), where the farmer, John Garbutt, hid some of the stuff. Then on to Rosedale, where Thomas Garbutt was landlord of the White Horse. Next over the moor to High Mill in Farndale, where the goods were hidden by the miller, Leonard Hardwick. From Farndale they went along the moor causeway, across Bransdale Moor and Cockayne Ridge to Todd Intake and down by the Black Intake to William Beck in Bilsdale.

From there deliveries were made to Robert Medd at the Shoulder of Mutton Inn, Michael Johnson at the Buck Inn at Chop Gate, and Thomas Medd at the Fox and Hounds at Urra. The rest of the cargo was taken via William Ainsley at Spout House to the Sign of the Withered Tree*, at this time a drovers' inn, where John Garbutt was

landlord. (He was the last landlord as it soon ceased to be an inn). It was here that the bolts of lace and silk were hidden and later taken to York, to a seamstress who had a shop in Stonegate. It is believed that the wedding trousseau of the bride of the fifth Earl Fitzwilliam was made of some of the smuggled silk, but who delivered it is not known.

Jack Sample, who was landlord of the Feversham Arms, Helmsley about 1936 was born at Saltburn where his father was a coastguard and his forbears 'Prentive Men' who knew about these smuggling activities. John Andrews, part-owner of the cutter, was caught at Hornsea and spent two years in prison at York Castle; he was a descendant of John Andrews of Kincardine. The last of that family to live at Saltburn was Miss 'Tipp' Andrews. None of the other people involved in the local smuggling runs were caught although they were chased by the Riding Officers several times.

I have written this from the account given to me by John Garbutt of Ladhill Gill and Robert Garbutt of Seave Green, Chop Gate, who were the grandsons of William Garbutt of Loftus Mill.

*Editor's Note. The Sign of the Withered Tree is the ruined farmstead at grid reference SE 555943, marked as Weather House on the ordnance map but still pronounced 'Witheris' locally. It stands at or near the old sheep farm named in the twelfth century as 'Widheris'. (See History of Helmsley, Rievaulx and District, pp. 73-4, 80).

The Manor of Spaunton

by Thomas Strickland

Quite a lot of publicity has been given recently to the title of Lord of the Manor of Spaunton, and to the Manor and Manorial Estate attached to that name. What brought public attention to the subject in general was, of course, the commons Registration Act of 1965 which called for the Registration of all Common land, Village greens, and waste land. The Act stipulated that all Common land should be registered with the local County authority, a very big undertaking because the quantification of varying rights was required.

The manorial land within the Manor of Spaunton covers an area of approximately 7,500 acres between the Dove and Seven Rivers, from south of the Kirkbymoorside - Pickering Road, to north of the Lion Inn at Blakey, and includes the villages of Appleton-le-Moors, Lastingham, Spaunton, Hutton-le-Hole and that part of Rosedale situated on the west side of the River Seven. As most people know, Manors became prominent at the coming of William the Conqueror who gave vast areas of land to his nobles with the title, Lord of the Manor. In 1085 Spaunton was one such manor, its first Lord being the Norman, Beringer-de-Todeni, who held other manors in the area. There is no record of him having lived at Spaunton; we can only assume that its Manor House was occupied by a tenant. In 1078 Abbot Stephen came from Whitby to build an Abbey Church at Lastingham. This was left uncompleted when he moved to York, which by 1088, had become an important centre of Christianity, where he built St Mary's Abbey. For over 400 years until the Dissolution of the Monasteries, whoever ruled St Mary's Abbey was Lord of the Manor of Spaunton. In 1536 when the abbeys fell, the Estate reverted to the Crown.

Edward VI gave the Manor to William, Lord Grey of Wilton and John Bannester Esq. In 1564 it was sold to John Bonvill of Spaunton. It may be that he was living at the Manor House when he purchased the Manor. His daughter, Ann, married William Carrington, of Carrington in Cheshire, in whose family Spaunton Manor remained until 1639. The present day owners are the Darley family who have held the Manor since 1780. George Geoffrey Winn-Darley, the present owner, inherited the title from his second cousin, Geoffrey Winn-Darley in 1986.

When the Manor and its title are conveyed to another person there is a Perambulation of the boundaries known as the Beating of the bounds. The last time this took place was in 1986 when George Winn-Darley inherited the title. This was a memorable occasion taking two days, starting at 10 a.m. each day. Refreshments were provided at various stages along the way.

Court Leet

This consists of 14 of the owners of the Common Rights, who are invited and duly summoned to appear and be

sworn in as Jurymen, that is 12 Jurymen and two Offereors. The calling together of these persons is the job of the Bailiff who acts at the request of the Steward of the Manor, who, himself, has received instruction from the Lord of the Manor.

Both the Steward (who is a Solicitor) and the Bailiff are appointed and engaged by the Lord of the Manor. The Steward presides at all sessions of the Court Leet, and deals with all legal matters appertaining to the Court and Management of the Manorial Land.

The Court is held annually on the first Thursday in October at 11 a.m. at the Manor House in Spaunton village.

The Lord of the Manor is under no obligation to attend sessions of the Court, but in recent years his presence has been welcomed; there are times when he feels it is essential to be present or he himself may wish to discuss and seek approval from the Court for the protection of his Shooting Rights, Mineral extraction and other matters.

The main business of the Court is the Management and care of the Manorial land within the Manor, that is the Common, Village Green, grass verges etc. There are on various occasions illegal encroachments, new driveways to property or fields, removal of unsightly objects on Common Land, any or all of which may be subject to legal action by the Court or the imposition of fines. Existing fines are reviewed each year in the forms of a presentiment handed in at the court by the Bailiff.

With the introduction of the Commons Registration Act of 1965 and the subsequent enquiry a new Register of Common Rights is now in circulation, these are available at £2.00 each.

Court Leet - Bracken Eradication.

This is a problem which has occupied the attention of the Court for the last ten years. This Manor being one of the first organisations to undertake the control of bracken by spraying.

In 1979 a Bracken Committee was appointed by the Court Leet and were allocated the sum of £500, this was more or less an experiment which proved to be very effective. The spraying was done by local farmers with tractor and sprayer.

The Lord of the Manor has also treated areas at his own expense.

It later became known that the North York Moors National Park were considering Grant Aiding such projects, having come to the conclusion bracken infestation was fast becoming a menace, vast areas of the Moorland heather were being ruined, and the bracken was also harbouring pests which were spreading disease amongst game and livestock, and furthermore the general public were in danger of contracting Cancer from its spores.

The National Park was approached and the Court Leet has worked in close liaison with their officials over the last nine years and values their help immensely. During early 1990 a comprehensive scheme was drawn up for the Spraying of 1,800 acres over a period of three years, 600 acres each year to be completed by 1992. Both the Ministry of Agriculture Fisheries and Food and the National Park are rendering financial assistance.

Court Leet - North York Moors National Park Draft Plan

Observations and objections were called for to the Draft Plan from interested parties and the public in general. The Court wished to submit observations and with the encouragement of the Lord of the Manor a sub-committee was appointed under the Chairmanship of John Bulmer, a Juror, to submit written representations on behalf of the Court. This was done and emphasis was laid on the importance to the National Park of the maintenance of the goodwill of the farming community without which the appearance of the countryside would drastically alter for the worse. It was pointed out that Courts Leet and individual owners had maintained the Common Land, managed it and controlled its use for generations and any change in law affecting Commons would do well to accept that the work they did was essential to the maintenance of the Park as the public wished to find it. The danger from uncontrolled public access was stressed.

1990 Court Leet

At the conclusion of the main business of the 1990 Court there was the swearing of the Pinder, Mr Reginald Swales, but as Mr Swales was reaching retirement age, Mr Alan Wass was appointed as his Assistant. Pinfolds for stray stock at Appleton-le-Moors, Spaunton and Hutton-le-Hole are still in good repair. The Court was adjourned by the Steward and all Jurymen and Officials invited to lunch at a local Hotel by the Lord of the Manor, the Menu consisted of Hare Pie and other niceties.

Prior to the 1939-45 War it had been the custom to have the Court Leet's lunch in an adjoining room at the Spaunton Manor House but this proved to be too much of an undertaking for the then tenants, Miss Strickland and her elderly parents, hence the decision to go to a local Hotel.

The Manor House

From the Ordnance Survey map it is recorded as being the site of a Castle, but doubt has existed for many years as to whether this was so or was it some kind of Medieval Hall? Mr R H Hayes had doubts too and on his initiative with the help of Mr B Frank (Founders of the Ryedale Folk Museum) and Mr A H Whitaker (now a retired School Master) an area at the rear of the present Manor House was excavated in 1963-64. Great care being taken in searching for Pottery of earlier periods. All this has been placed in the care of the Ryedale Folk Museum at Hutton-le-Hole.

It was, however, finally agreed that the foundations uncovered were that of a Medieval Hall dating from the 11th to the 16th Century. It was also found that the present Manor House (a section of it being very old) was built on the foundation of that period.

Evidence was also found that there has been a moat surrounding this dwelling which formed the boundary enclosing approx 2 acres of ground measuring from East to West 380 ft. The Western and Northern boundaries are clearly visible by mounds under which there is the foundation of a wall of some width. It was customary in those days for a Manor House to have a Pigeon Cote; the present one at the rear of the Manor House was built in the middle of the last century. Pigeons were kept there up to 1943 but nearly all were destroyed when, during the Second World War, a British bomber crashed on the holding.

1. R.H. Hayes, Excavations at Spaunton Manor, *Ryedale Historian*, 13, 1986

Editor's note. Mr Strickland has served for many years as Foreman of the jury of the Court Leet

Coxwoldshire by S R Eyre

(The author presents this paper as one of the products of the Husthwaite Local History Group which began life in 1985. A number of pieces of work are in preparation; they deal with a range of topics on the Coxwoldshire villages, and vary in period from the medieval to the first half of the twentieth century. It is intended that, in one place or another, they will be published in the years ahead and become available to local historians in Ryedale and elsewhere.)

Between Osmotherly and Malton the abrupt eastern edge of the Vale of York is broken in only one place. Where the Hambletons give way to the Howardians there is a sharp break in terrain in a profoundly faulted zone well-known to geologists as the Coxwold-Gilling Gap. Along this zone of crustal weakness, erosion over millions of years has produced a lowland where it is possible to pass from the Vale of York into Ryedale without ever going higher than 225 feet (69m.) above sea level (see the contours on MAP 2). Clearly the well-drained slopes along either side of this corridor must have been recognised as a strategically-important connection by all the peoples in the past who sought to control or defend Brigantia, Deira and Northumbria. It is not surprising that the ancient routeway from Malton to Aldborough - generally regarded as "Roman" and now referred to as "Malton Street" - ran along its southern edge (MAP 1), or that the mustering point of Birdforth Wapentake (the "Gerlestre" = Earl's Tree of Domesday Book) was sited exactly where the route along its northern side, through Coxwold and Carlton, reached the brink of the Vale of York.

With this in mind it becomes apparent why "Coxwoldshire" must once have been an important administrative entity, though the name and the functions were probably falling into disuse even as early as the twelfth century. However it had clearly survived the Norman Conquest since its shire court was still functioning at the time when the first Roger de Mowbray granted part of Coxwold to Newburgh Priory in the years immediately following the Battle of the Standard (1138AD). In a confirmation of this grant in 1389 (13 Richard 11) we are presented with a complete perambulation of Newburgh, part of which reads:

...cum totum terra ... ad divisas Uluestone, sicut ex precepto meo perambulaverunt ipsas et juraverunt duodecim de antiquioribus Cuchevaldi schire...

ie: "...with all the land ... up to the boundary of Oulston, as they have walked these bounds by my order, and as twelve of the elders of Coxwoldshire have sworn ..." [1]

That this ancient Northumbrian shire comprised a larger area than that of Coxwold itself is evidenced by Domesday Book (Map 2). Quite clearly an estate extended from Ampleforth in the east to Thirkleby and Baxby in the west. Equally interesting is that the holder of this land immediately prior to Norman proprietorship

had been an Anglo-Saxon theign called Cofsi, and that he had become Earl of Northumbria after the death of Tostig. Cofsi was William's appointee and was slain in Durham in 1067 only a few months after his appointment, nevertheless, the fact that this was the Earl's estate may itself indicate a long term administrative importance for it. The former extent of this estate was almost certainly even greater than that of Cofsi's holding. The Archbishop of York held a considerable area of land in Ampleforth, Carlton, Baxby and Husthwaite, land formerly held by Ulfr, and this was so intimately interlinked with Cofsi's manor that it would be difficult to imagine how they could not have been united in the same unit at an earlier date (*vide infra*). The same also applies to the land formerly held by Arnketill in Kilburn and Wildon Grange, and to that of Gospatrix in Oulston and Thorpe.

The Domesday Record

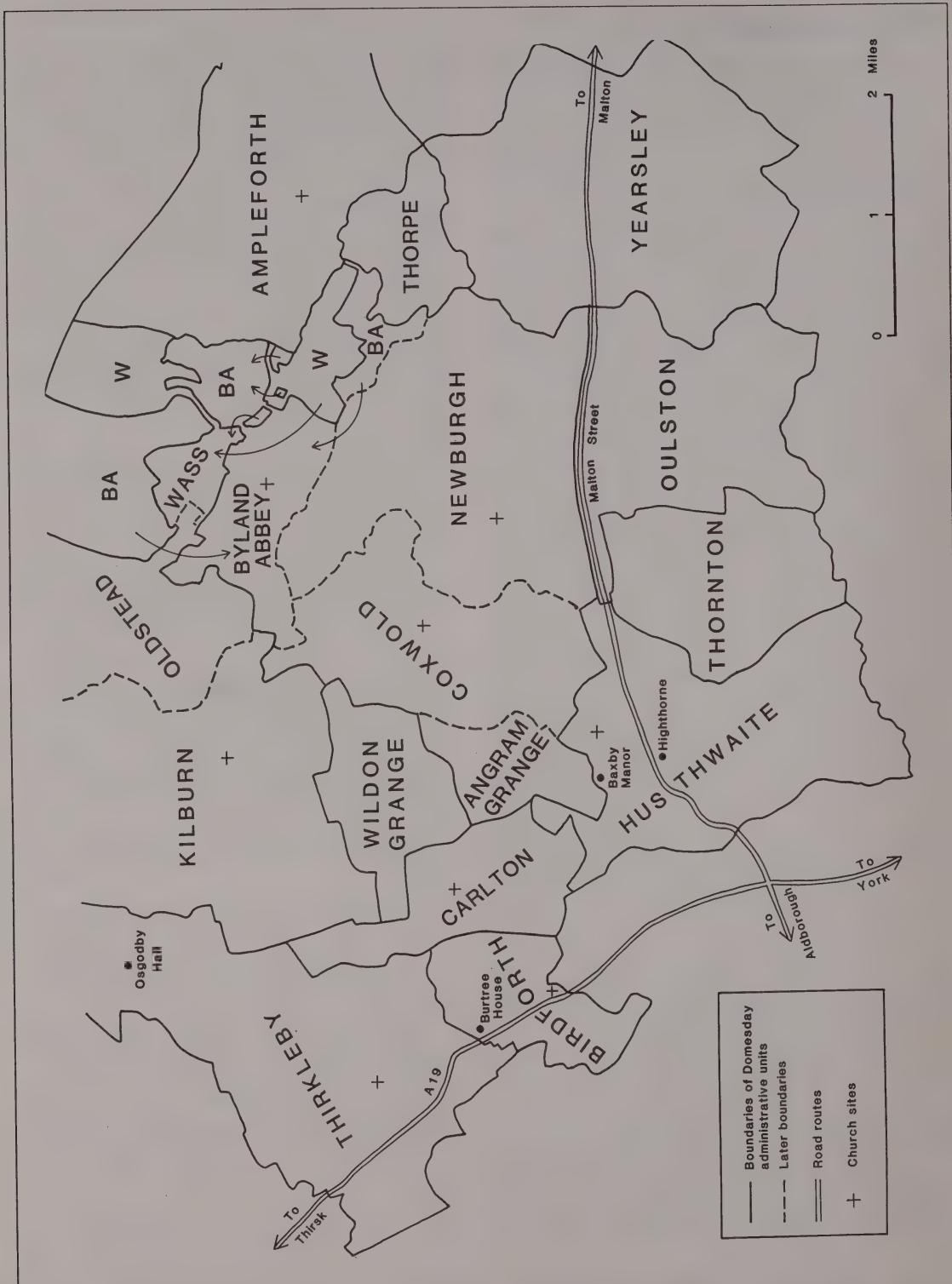
There are three entries in Domesday Book which refer to lands in Coxwoldshire; they are presented below in translation (2). In order of presentation they are taken from folios 327b, 303b and 300d respectively:

(1) "In Cucuall (Coxwold), Cofsi had 10c. for g. In Iretone (Thornton-on-the-Hill), 3c; Eureslage (Yearsley) 3c; Ampreforde (Ampleforth) 1c; Ausgotbe (Osgodby) 3c; Turchilebi (Thirkleby) 8c; Baschebi (Baxby) 15b. Together 20c. of land less 1b. for g. There is land for 15p. Hugh son of Baldric now has there 4p; and 54 villeins have 29p... In the time of King Edward the Confessor it was worth £6; now (it is worth) £12... In Chileburne (Kilburn) Arnketill had 6c. for g. Land for 3p. Now Hugh has there 1 villein and 2p... In Wilema (Wildon Grange) there is soc of this manor of 3c. of land for g. Land for 2p. 11 villeins are there now having 8p"

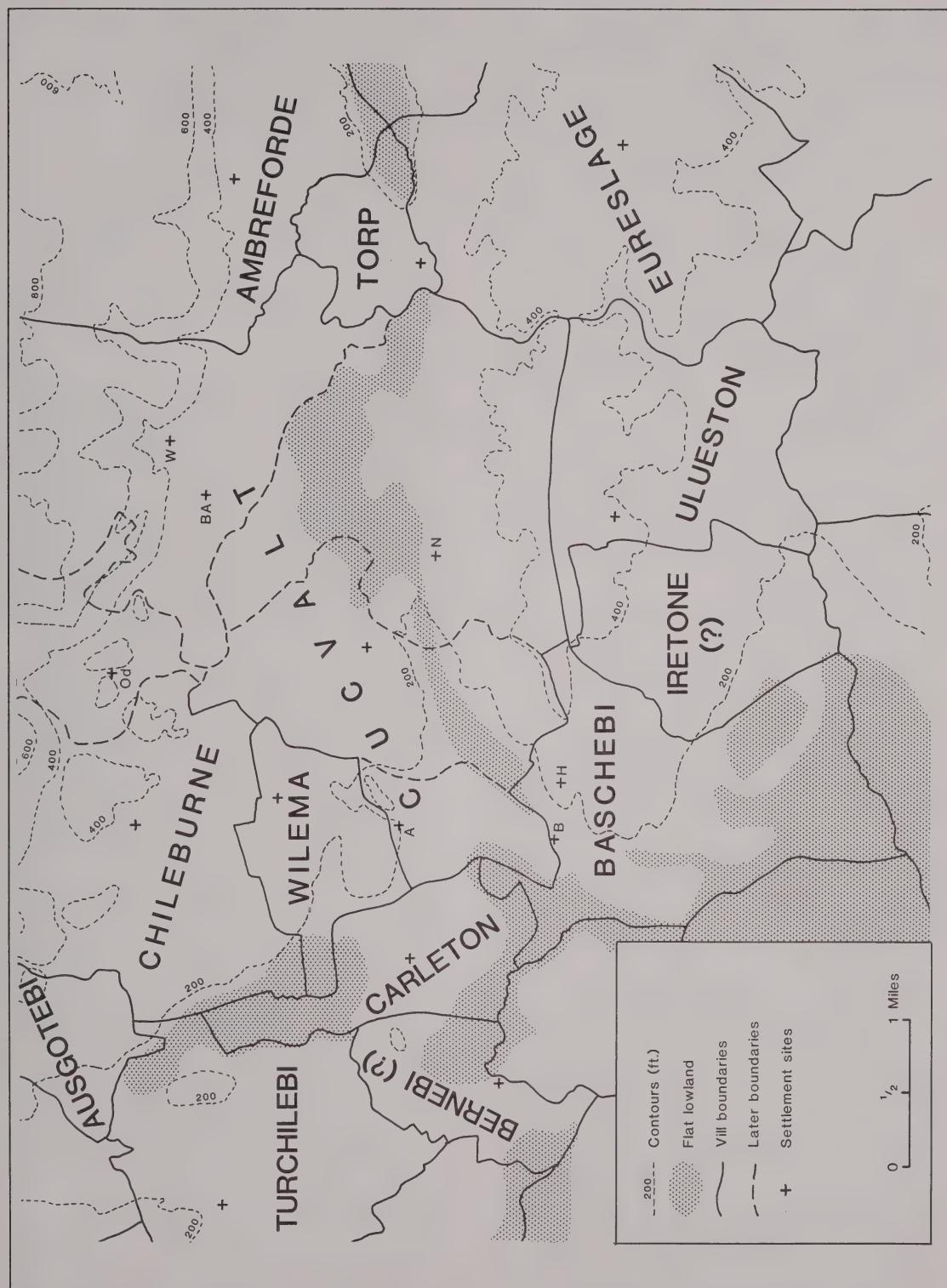
(KEY: c = carucate (= 8 bovates), b = bovate, g = geld, p = plough)

(2) "In Ampreforde (Ampleforth) 3c. for g. Ulfr had one manor... In Bachesbi (Baxby) 6c. and 1b. for g. Ulfr had one manor. In Carletun (Carlton Husthwaite) 4½c. for g. Ulfr had one manor ..." (Included in this entry there are five other manors outside Coxwoldshire with lands totalling 6c. 2b., and then:) "In all, 19c. and 7b., and 10p. can be (there). Now St. Peter has (them). They are waste except that 4 villeins, having 2p., render 2/-". In the time of King Edward they were worth 60/-."

(3) "In Ulvestun (Oulston), Gospatrix (had) 6c. for g. Land for 3p. In Torp (Thorpe) 3c. for g. Land for 1p...."



Map 1 The Civil Parishes of Coxwoldshire



Map 2 Domesday Villas and Locations of Present Settlements (B=Baxby; H=Husthwaite; A=Angram Grange; BA=Byland Abbey; N=Newburgh; W=Wass; Od=Oldstead)

The Land Holders

Cofsi apart, the status of the other *dramatis personae* of Domesday Coxwoldshire is far from clear. Ulfr seems to have been a freeman of some standing - one of the more important thegns of Northumbria; he held a scattering of manors over quite a wide area as well as the three listed above. Furthermore he had been in a position to grant his lands to the Archbishop prior to 1086. "Ulfr's horn", mentioned in Camden's Britannia, is still held as an important relic by the Minster, but the exact circumstances surrounding its acquisition are obscure.

Arketill must also have been a leader of importance: as well as holding Kilburn and many other manors he is known from other sources to have been one of the leaders of the rising which provoked the savage Harrying of the North in 1069. It is not known what happened to him but it is established that Gospatrix, the former holder of Oulston in DB, was his son, and that he was held hostage by the Normans, possibly to discourage any further intransigence by his father.

Finally, Hugh son of Baldric, the holder of Coxwoldshire in 1086, and Sheriff of York from 1069 to 1080, had clearly become the King's main law keeper in Yorkshire following the crushing of the revolt. Again, it is probably not without some strategic significance that he should have been granted the lands of Coxwoldshire.

Population Density

The Domesday assessment for Coxwoldshire reveals an unusual demographic anomaly. The general impression of the condition of northern Yorkshire in 1086 is one of devastation following the Harrying of the North. One assessment of Domesday population density indicates that whereas Lincolnshire had nineteen people per square mile, the Vale of York had only two [3]. Detailed illustrations of this situation are to be found in the three extracts that have been cited. On the Archbishop's lands (extract 2) almost 20 carucates were assessed - land for 10 ploughs - in pre-Conquest times. These lands were then worth 60/-, but in 1086 they were predominantly "waste", with just four villeins using two ploughs and paying 2/-. Many other vills within a 10-mile radius, which had several carucates each pre-Conquest, were assessed as "waste" in 1086. Hutton Sessay and Thormanby which had had seven carucates between them were "waste". Furthermore the great majority of those which were not depopulated were much reduced in ploughs and value. And this was seventeen years after the disaster had occurred! The figures are, of course, a mere arid reflection of the actual state of affairs in the decades following 1069. Few descriptive accounts are available, even fragmentary ones, but those we have paint a dreadful picture of starvation, privation and creeping death, with the wolves increasing and re-emerging from the woods and hills to prowl over the farmland [4]. Fields which had been tilled, perhaps for a long time, fell into disuse, and any necessity to expand the agricultural area beyond its pre-Conquest limits was obviated for generations to come. The implications of this will be seen later.

In the midst of this great disaster it is thus surprising to

encounter an actual increase in agricultural potential and, by inference, probably in population too, on Coxwold Manor and at Wildon Grange. We are told that, pre-Conquest, Coxwold had land for 15 ploughteams, and Wildon Grange for two ploughteams (17 in all) but that in 1086, 41 ploughteams (31+8) were there. The value of Coxwold had also risen from £6 to £12. In other words there was a great concentration of people and oxen here, far in excess of those required to till the pre-existing arable land. One is tempted to the hypothesis that Hugh son of Baldric, who now had power of life and death over the whole of this area, had herded together the few surviving livestock and the demoralised peasantry from a wide area of countryside so that, as a now scarce resource, they could be kept alive and used more effectively on his own personal estate.

The Cultivated Land

Regarding amounts and dispositions of cultivated land, the DB entries may well yield material information provided they are viewed in the light of archaeological evidence and the topographic setting. The main entry (extract 1) requires careful reading because the latin text of DB is highly abbreviated and has no modern punctuation. It states, clearly enough, that Coxwold itself had 10 carucates for geld, and then runs on to give the individual amounts for each of the appurtenant vills. It concludes by saying: ..."together 20 carucates less one bovate for geld." If one follows the arithmetic closely it is quite clear that this is merely the sub-total for the appurtenant vills alone, and that the full total, including Coxwold's 10 carucates, is 30 carucates less one bovate (ie 29 carucates 7 bovates). It is this full total which is sufficient land "... for 15 ploughs." There were thus almost exactly twice as many carucates as ploughteams. That this is the intention is substantiated by the entry for Kilburn where Amketill had 6 carucates to 3 ploughs, for Oulston where Gospatrix also had 6 to 3, and for the Archbishop's manors where there were 19 carucates 7 bovates for 10 ploughs. It is only at Wildon Grange (3:2) and in Thorpe (3:1), that the 2:1 ratio was departed from.

The significance of this information has long been disputed by students of DB. It has been held that, by the eleventh century, "the carucate" had become a mere taxation device - a statement of the "rateable value" laying down the number of units of danegeld which each manor, sokeland or berewick had to pay. The view has prevailed that, although it had previously been the term applied to a unit of arable land (the amount which one ploughteam could manage in a year), it had ceased to have this simple meaning. This may well be true for other counties, but the case has been made that, for the North Riding of Yorkshire, if one takes the number of geld carucates and considers it in the light of the number of ploughteams and certain aspects of field patterns, then it may well be possible to draw some fairly precise inferences regarding the location and size of the Domesday ploughlands and the crop rotations practised upon them [5].

Problems remain but they seem insufficient to invalidate

the main hypotheses, and pre-eminent among these is that, in manors where there was a carucate/ploughteam (c:p) ratio of 2:1, there was a 2-field system of crop rotation at the time when the pre-Conquest geld assessments were made. That is to say, in any particular year, half the arable area was in fallow and the other half in crops (half winter corn and half spring corn). In other words, the number of ploughteams in these 2-field systems represents the number of "carucates" actually under crops at any one time, and the stated number of "carucates" in the entry represents the total arable area available, fallow as well as crops.

This is a hypothesis which cannot be proved from contemporary documents. We do know from later documents that the 2-field system was in use in different parts of England, but these will probably never tell us just how extensive it had been. Fortunately there is another strand of evidence which can be invoked, and it is one which is particularly applicable to the lands of some of the Coxwoldshire villages. It revolves around the fact that open-field ploughlands, over the whole of western Europe, had a characteristic shape: they were laid out in the form of a reversed letter S. Furthermore, when these fields were enclosed piecemeal, by strip exchange and consolidation, the resulting enclosures had just the same form [6]. Many of these survived up to the nineteenth century and, by plotting their distribution, it is often possible to get a good impression of the location and extent of former open fields.

Carlton Husthwaite

This type of archaeological evidence had survived particularly well in the townships of Carlton Husthwaite and Husthwaite, both lying on the varied terrain of the Coxwold-Gilling Gap. Here well-drained slopes, almost ideal for open-field agriculture, are juxtaposed with flat land, and the boundary between the two is frequently sharp and well defined. It is possible to delineate the areas where open fields once existed and, secondly, those which are so flat and ill-drained that open field cultivation could never have been contemplated. When this is done for Carlton Husthwaite, with strict objectivity, the whole township falls into one category or the other (MAP 3). The central area around the village is occupied by fields with parallel, curved boundaries (O.S.6" map, 1st.Edn., Sheet 104), and the significance of this is reinforced by the survival in places of broad ridge-and-furrow with exactly the same reversed-S form. In contrast, to the north, lay the flat, ill-drained area of Carlton Common, and to the south, even more striking, was the area called "Low Ground" with the contiguous strip along the Ings Beck. It is inconceivable that this land could have been put into permanent cultivation until the major drainage channel called "The Stell" (MAP 3) was completed, and until the principles of sub-surface drainage were mastered in the eighteenth century.

Since there is no evidence that Carlton Husthwaite ever held any of the land which is now in neighbouring parishes, indeed everything points to the great stability of parish boundaries over the past millennium (*vide infra*),

we can have some confidence that the land held by Carlton Husthwaite in 1086 was no more extensive than that seen on the nineteenth century map. Domesday Book states that it had 4½ carucates to geld, and that it was part of the Archbishop's lands which totalled 19 carucates 7 bovates where "... 10 ploughs can be" (extract 2). We can thus infer on the basis of premises already stated, that it had a two-field system.

Even more interesting is that when this former open field in Carlton is measured on the map it is found to have an area of 430.4 acres (174.2ha.). So, if this is the 4½ carucates of DB, then the geld carucate in Carlton averaged just under 96 acres, ie the bovate size was just short of 12 acres.

But can we be really confident that this map area is the same as that occupied by the Domesday arable? Can we be sure that open field did not reach its extreme limits until a later date or, conversely, that its Domesday limit had not exceeded this limit? The latter alternative has already been answered: the high tide of open-field development had not gone beyond this limit because the terrain did not permit it to do so. With regard to the alternative possibility, there seem to be three good reasons for rejecting the view that the Domesday limit may have fallen short of the limit shown on MAP 3. First, population pressure was greatly diminished by the Harrying of the North and it seems reasonable to postulate that it would be some generations before it again reached its 1069 level. It seems likely that, as population did expand again, the bovates that had been abandoned would be reoccupied without any necessity for moving on to land which had not been cultivated before. Secondly, a change from two-field to three-field cultivation which may well have taken place in many townships, would have diminished any tendency to expand the open-field area. With the former, a 96-acre carucate would have only 48 acres under crops in any one year, whereas with the latter, 64 acres would be cultivated annually - 32 under winter corn, 32 under spring corn, and only 32 in fallow. This represents an increase of 16 acres under crops. If this kind of change was effected over, say, all the 20 carucates held by the Archbishop (extract 2), this would have entailed an extra 320 acres of crops per annum with no actual expansion of the open fields. If 12 acres of crops (a two-field "bovate") could support one family, this increase represents an increased carrying capacity of between 26 and 27 families (provided soil productivity was maintained). Thirdly, if it is suggested that the Domesday arable acreage in Carlton was materially less than that evidenced on the nineteenth century map, this implies a carucate "on the plough" of less than 96 acres (a bovate of less than 12 acres). This would seem to be barely adequate.

Husthwaite and Baxby

Husthwaite is the one large village in Coxwoldshire which receives no mention in DB. However, it will not have escaped notice that Baxby has two entries which show that the Lord of Coxwold held one manor with 1 carucate

7 bovates, and that Ulfr had held another of 6 carucates 1 bovate (now the Archbishop's). It will be shown here that this second, larger manor was almost certainly Husthwaite, though there is no documentary reference to this name until 1167 when it was noted (along with Oulston and Thornton) as one of the manors just outside the boundaries of the Forest of Galtres. We also know that it had a "chapel" by 1154 because a later document of Newburgh notes retrospectively that, by an agreement between York and Newburgh, a monk of Newburgh called "Brian" had been appointed as priest some time between 1145 and 1154.

The name "Husthwaite" may well have some significance. Historical geographical research is indicating increasingly that quite a number of our northern civil parishes may have begun, not as single village nucleations from which daughter settlements (outlying hamlets and farms) all sprang at a later stage but, conversely, as a scattering of almost equally ancient forest clearings which ultimately became affiliated into single administrative units. It could be that Baxby, by Danish times, had grown to be a sizeable manor in this way, with separate clearings or "thwaites" around Baxby, Husthwaite, Acaster Hill, Woolpots and Highthorne. And if there was a "thwaite" which developed fastest and had the largest group of houses on it (and ultimately the consecrated church), what is more likely than that this would be referred to as the "hus-thwaite". This is no more than a hypothetical scenario but there is much evidence on the ground to support it.

The view that the two Domesday manors of Baxby are the same as the present day Baxby and Husthwaite seems inescapable in the light of the fact that right up to the nineteenth century there were separate townships with these names which were, nevertheless, intimately bound up with each other. In fact Baxby township lay in seven separate parcels, each one partly or completely embedded in Husthwaite (MAP 4). Four of these parcels (shown here) were clearly ancient; the other three were later creations, being Baxby's allocations of the common grazings when these were enclosed.

4 Enclosures Analysis for Baxby and Husthwaite
 What clearer evidence could one have that the two townships were formerly one manor? And can there be any doubt that the division took place prior to 1066, at a date when Ulfr, or one of his predecessors, and the Lord of Coxwold divided it between them? Indeed the enormous stability of administrative boundaries may well be illustrated by this particular case. Over on the eastern side of this jointly held area (beside what is now Sand Hill Farm) is a strip-shaped piece of land approximately 6.5 acres in extent. This is shown as one of the islands of Baxby in Husthwaite on both the Tithe Survey and the 1st Edition of the Ordnance Survey (MAP 4). Furthermore, on the evidence already outlined for Carlton, it would not have been far removed from being half a bovate in area.

It is possible to analyse the whole area of Husthwaite (1677 acres) and Baxby (333 acres) in the same way as for Carlton, though the operation at some points is a little

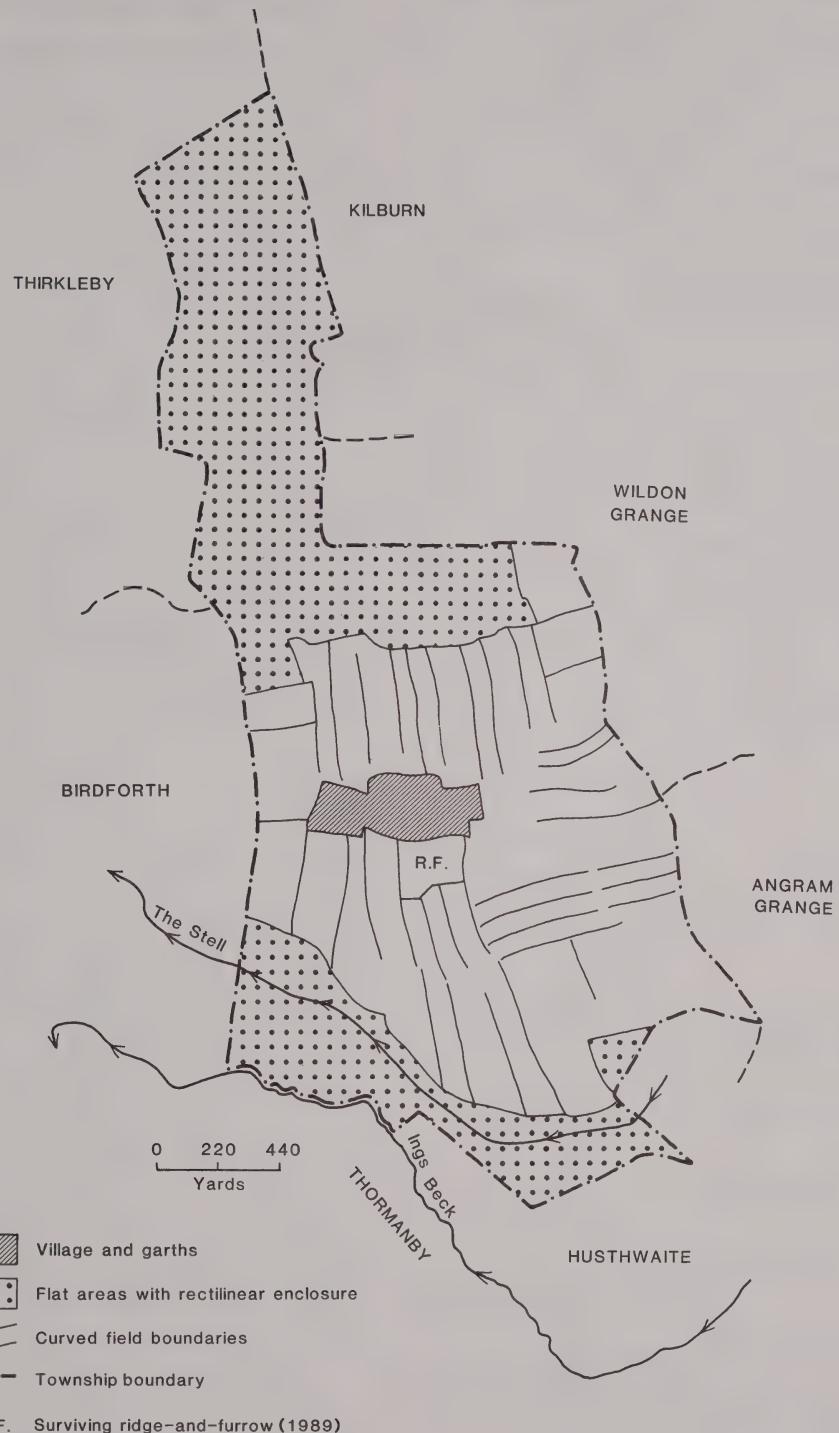
more problematical. This is mainly because, as well as the flat, ill-drained land, these two townships had some steeper areas on which there is no field evidence for former open-field usage. Over a small fraction of the total area there is thus a little more room for doubt, but the main picture is clear and the boundaries have been drawn objectively from the field evidence, just as with Carlton. On the basis of this, 607.9 acres of Husthwaite and 194.1 acres of Baxby are diagnosed as former open field. If this open field was, essentially, the land assessed in the Domesday carucates, the 49 bovates (6% carucates) of Husthwaite must have averaged 12.40 acres each, and the 15 bovates (1% carucates) of Baxby 12.96 acres. These average bovate sizes are very close to the 11.96 acres of Carlton.

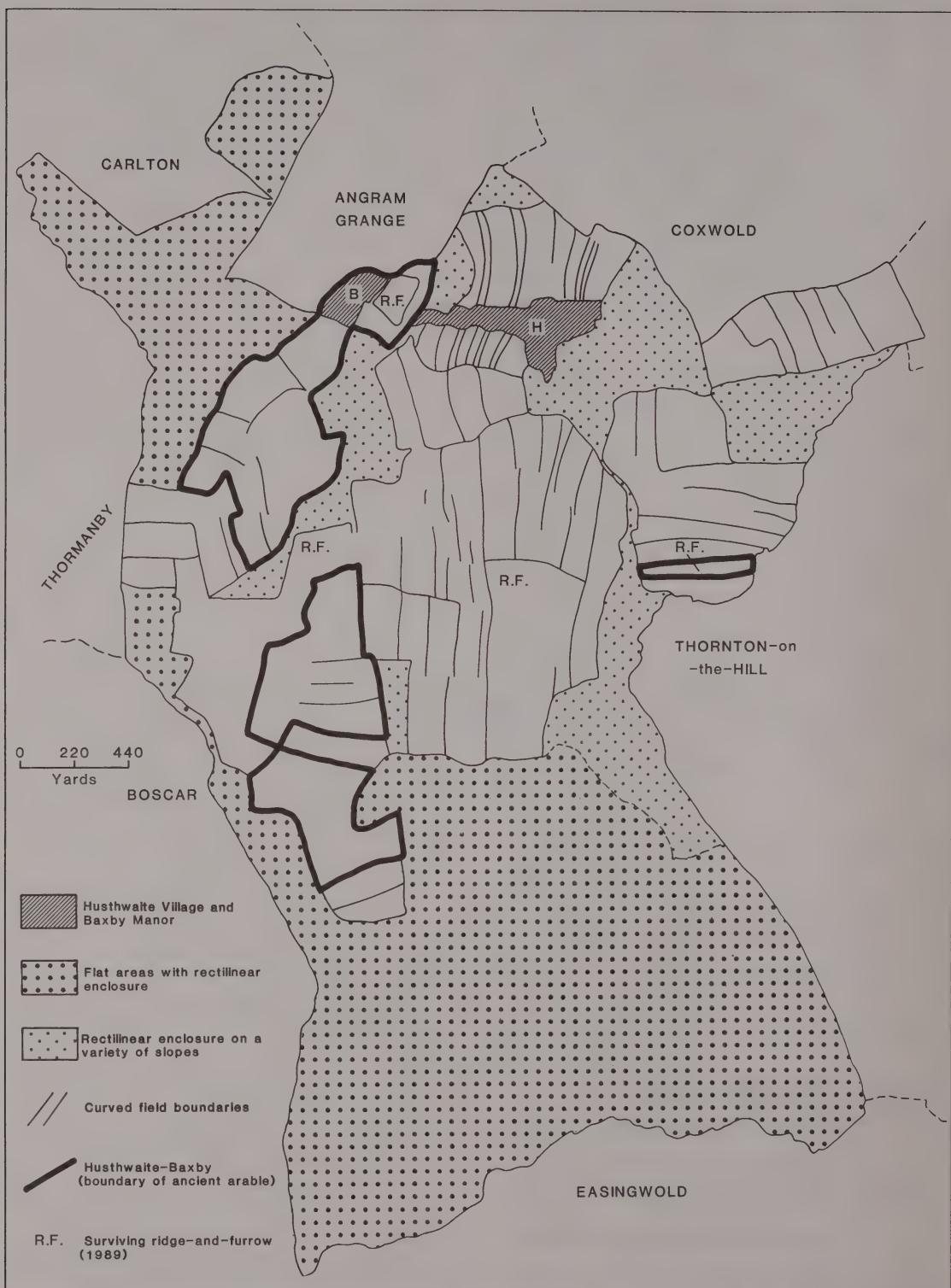
The System

So the field evidence for Carlton, Baxby and Husthwaite, when viewed alongside the Domesday record, seems to provide the basis for a coherent hypothesis regarding the extent of the open fields prior to the Conquest, and the rotations practised within them. It seems reasonable to envisage most of the Coxwoldshire townships as having carucates not far removed from 100 acres each, managed in two-field systems. Each pair of carucates would thus be managed by one ploughteam and each team would plough half a carucate before Christmas and the other half afterwards. On the other hand townships like Wildon Grange would have three carucates managed by two ploughteams in three-field systems. Problems remain, but the evidence for the whole of the North Riding seems to support this view very strongly [5]. Quite clearly, however, these historical problems seem to have their best chance of solution in townships like Carlton and Husthwaite where the terrain and the enclosure evidence provide windows into the dim interior of the documentary treasure house.

References

- [1] *Cal.Pat.Rolls*, 13 Richard 11, Membrane 26, 1388-92; Vol 1V (publ. 1902), pp.160-2.
- [2] Adapted from the translation by Margaret L. Faull and Marie Stimson (eds.), in *Domesday Book*, John Morris (Gen.Ed.,), Vol.30 "Yorkshire", Parts 1 and 2, 1986
- [3] H.C.Darby and I.S. Maxwell, *The Domesday Geography of Northern England*, 1962, Fig.30, P.121
- [4] Marjorie Chibnall, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, 1969-75, Vol.2
- [5] S.R. Eyre, "Open-field Cultivation and the Domesday Record for the North Riding of Yorkshire", Working Paper 91/7, School of Geography, University of Leeds.
- [6] S.R. Eyre, "The Curving Plough-strip and its Historical Implications", *Agric. Hist. Rev.*, 1V, 1955, pp.80-94





Map 4 Enclosures Analysis for Baxby and Husthwaite

Sir John Bulmer and his "house with towers"

by M.R.Allison

For many years now the earthworks in the close known as Vicar's Piece no.39 on the Lastingham Tithe award, have been described as Site of Monastery on the OS map 1856 or Site of Benedictine Monastery on the OS 1912. Presumably the monastery referred to is either of the Anglo-Saxon period or of the brief stay of Stephen c.1070 at Lastingham before he founded St.Mary's Abbey in York. There is no evidence of any later Benedictine monastery here in the high middle ages, only of a grange of St. Mary's Abbey centred on Spaunton.

There is another possible explanation for the earthworks worth considering, that they are associated with Sir John Bulmer in a later period of Lastingham's history.

General Background

Sir John Bulmer's sudden appearance in Lastingham in the early 16th century remains unexplained but intriguing. I would like to examine briefly the known associations of this northern leader with Lastingham where he had a house c.1528. (1) In 1528 there is a curious letter of Henry VIII to Wolsey instructing him to write to Sir John Bulmer requesting him "to allow the Abbot of St. Mary's officers of his lordship of Spaunton to occupy their offices and farms there and serve the processes (ie. hold the manor court etc.) belonging to the liberties of the monastery, without let or disturbance and that Sir John's servants must not kill the king's deer in the woods there." All of the above implies the strong presence of Sir John Bulmer in the area. He may have held the Manor of Spaunton of the Abbot of St. Mary's for a time, obstructing the running of the manor when the Abbot sought to regain it, as well as illegally hunting the deer.

A further reference suggests that Sir John Bulmer may have been building a substantial house in Lastingham, when in 1533 St. Mary's Abbey brought a case against Sir John Bulmer "who has entered into a parcel of the manor..., has cut down divers great trees and woods,... broken certain parcels of ground... to take stones for his building... and daily causes divers tenants to deny their rent, suites, and custom..." (2)

A few years later Sir John Bulmer, kgt of Wilton Castle near Middlesbrough, would be one of the principal figures in the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536-7. John Rushton quotes a letter from our area at this period which shows how close the countryside was to a "rising", and contains the passionate phrase "if one would stir, all would be up again." In the royal papers of Henry VIII there is as official correspondance (3) between the Duke of Norfolk and Thomas Cromwell concerning a letter found at Lastingham in one of Sir John's houses. We are not told precise details of the matter but read between the lines that, relative to the letter, there is a priest in prison and an enquiry in progress concerning the wicked ('lewd') letter (presumably seditious?) which "touched Cromwell

and that Norfolk thinks himself more offended than any man." The Duke of Norfolk led the king's men against the Pilgrimage of Grace and was hardly a man to offend. For his part in the Pilgrimage of Grace, Sir John Bulmer was hung at Tyburn. His wife was burned at the stake at Smithfield, a rare instance of the execution of a woman for taking part in the rebellion.

A final reference to Sir John's house in Lastingham may appear in the 1539 Dissolution Survey (4):

Under 'Rents of Free Tenants of Manor of Spaunton' and probably relating to Lastingham is the entry - Sir John de Bulmer Value NIL one parcel of land built with towers 2d (turris edific') because the said John was attainted 'de altera perditione' (for high treason) and all his lands now in the hands of the king.

Had Sir John built a house with towers, "turris edific", in Lastingham and if so where was it?

Tower houses, such as Gilling Castle, were initially built for defence and subsequently evolved into substantial domestic residences. A contemporary example is mentioned by Leland c1534 at Wilton near Pickering where there was "a manor place with a Tower longgong to Chomeley." There is no reference in the later history of Lastingham to there being any substantial building with towers in the village. However the 'tower' element has survived in Lastingham as a field name.

Tower names

I would like to now turn to the field name references in Lastingham and to suggest a possible site for the "building with towers"

A. LastinghamTerriers

- (1) 1685 Terrier
Bransdale Garth joining upon the Tower Garth
- (2) 1717 Terrier
Tower Garth, abounding on the ground of Richard Clerk on the W N & S and Street on the east, containing one rood.
- (3) Terriers of 1727, 1743, 1777, 1781
No further mention of Tower Garth. Then
- (4) 1809 & 1849 Terriers
There likewise belongs to the Vicarage, a garth or small field, omitted in some former Terriers, called Vicarage Piece, 2 roods

Town St	E
T. Flintoft's garth	S & W
T. Flintoft's garth and house	N

Thus Tower Garth has become Vicarage Piece which the Tithe Award will describe more fully.

B. Tithe Award for Lastingham 1848 (See plan, p23)

On the Tithe Award there is then

- (1) The field called Vicar's piece, no. 39, which is located precisely, and contains the earthworks known as "site of monastery". There has been

some slight irregularity concerning this field because each of the copies at NYCRO and at the Borthwick have a marginal note added.

The entry is:

marginal note:
three rods in no 39
situation of which is
unknown belong to
Vicar as glebe

Owner/occupier	Field No	Description	ARP
T. Flintoft	39	Vicar's Piece	1.13.

Both copies agree that the field is privately owned by T. Flintoft with an unlocated portion belonging to the vicar.

The NYCRO copy names the field as Vicar's Piece.

(2) To the south of Vicar's Piece lies a field containing the name tower : Andersdale Tower no 38 which also contains a small portion of the earthworks. It is part of one of the ancient fields of Lastingham, Anserdalii, 14th c and has rigg and furrow which stop at the earthworks. The meaning of the word Anserdale is not known. Smith says Dr. Lindkvist suggests "dole of land marked by a dung heap."(5) On the T.A. it belongs to the vicar along with several other Andersdale closes. They are not mentioned in early Terriers as glebe. This is probably because they were awarded to the vicar in the 1787 Enclosure of Lastingham in exchange for the land the vicar held in the open fields and are only thereafter mentioned in the Terriers.

(3) More recently I was told by Mrs. Middleton, who was born at Spaunton at the turn of the century, that the name they used to call the area below Lidsty Hill, that is no 38, was "Tour".

Eastmead

The Rev. Eastmead in 1823 writes about Lastingham church and its early monastery.(6) His description of them is complex. It sounds as though Eastmead may in fact be describing two different sites, one adjoining the church and a second one, viz. "there are irregularities in a field not far from the present building (church), and an ancient road winding up to them." I think this second site may be Sir John Bulmer's 'house with towers', i.e. that the field is Vicar's Piece and the ancient road is the Lastingham to Appleton road.

Concerning the first site Eastmead says that:

(a) the church was once much longer than at present, projecting outside the west wall and

(b) that "on the north side of a wall on the NW of the church there is a depression in the earth, as if dug out for a foundation." He concludes that "it is probable the monastery was on the west of the church and united with it." VCH writes that "foundations of a nave are reported to have been found in the churchyard to the west of the present building." Both Eastmead and VCH are referring to what sounds like a demolished extension on the west end of Lastingham church. When such an alteration may have taken place is not known. Weston writes that the tower was already in place by

the fifteenth century.

In 1559 the church is described as "in ruin and decay. A record of 1620 says that Ferris the mayor of Hull" (7) and a native of Lastingham "new builded the church." (8) The difficulty in understanding Eastmead's text is that even though he seems to be describing a second separate site, ie in a field with an ancient road winding up to it, he treats it all as the monastery. For example, it is not clear in his very interesting footnote exactly which of the two sites he is referring to. The footnote records that "About fifty years ago (c. 1770's) the foundations of the monastery were razed by the sacrilegious hand of an inhabitant, and the catacombs, containing the dust of many a celebrated member of the fraternity, torn up to furnish materials for fences; leaving us to guess at the situation they had occupied. The Rev. Ellis then Vicar (1771-89) wrote some Latin verse on the subject... but they cannot be found." It seems unlikely that this footnote is referring to site one, ie in the churchyard itself and that a local inhabitant was able to invade the churchyard and remove the stones and 'catacombs,' all with the Vicar Ellis protesting. However the footnote would fit the second site in the field above, of Vicar's Piece, especially with its oddly shared ownership, (ie part-owned by the vicar and part privately owned, eg Flintoft (TA). The enclosure of Lastingham in 1787 may also have affected his field. If the footnote does refer to Tower Garth, one wonders what the catacombs were.

Field Work

I am grateful to Mr. R.H. Hayes for the following information, gathered when he made a brief examination of the O.S. 'site of Monastery' with B. Frank in 1968. The earthwork measured approx. 150 ft by 100 ft. The stone wall which ran through the earth works and divided Vicar's Piece from Andersdale Tower was shortly to be led away. The wall is shown on the 1787 enclosure map. In the wall Mr Hayes found some burnt roofing slates of stone, with pegholes. Prof. Hemingway identified the roofing slates as sandstone, similar to ones from Elland Quarry near Huddersfield. By contrast the medieval roofing tiles found at Spaunton Manor were limestone.

Other sources

Early information on Lastingham Church has not thrown any light on the area. G. Thompson in his brief guide to Lastingham 1901, p XII, says that '

'In 1730 the ruined walls of the monastery were standing'. He does not say where they were or where the information came from. Early pictures of Lastingham Church can be found in:

1. Young's' History of Whitby' c 1815
2. Eastmead's 'Historia Rievallensis' 1824
3. Engraving in church porch, 1816.

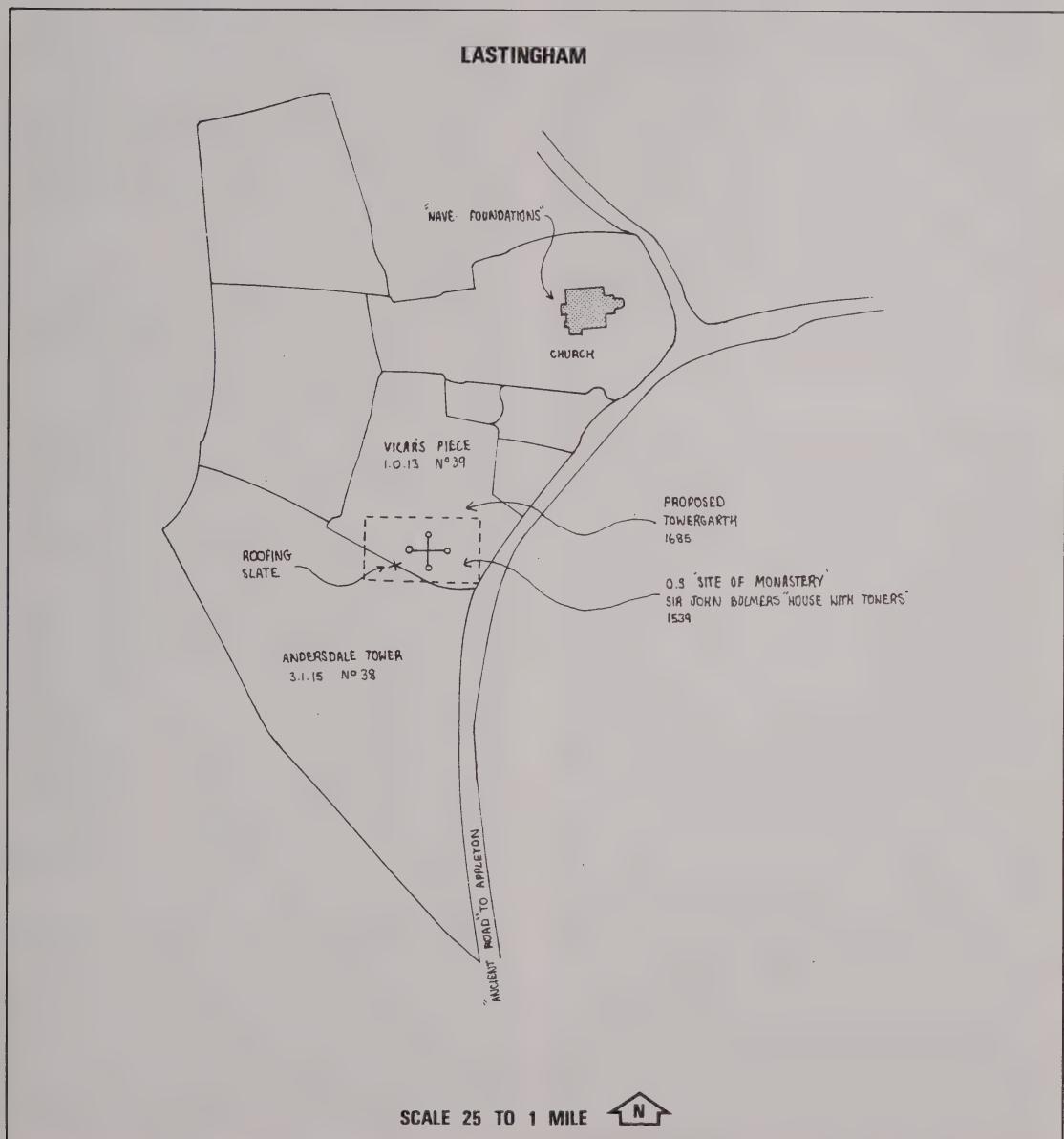
They all show thatched cottages near by but not ruins.

Conclusion

Although the Ordnance Survey is excellent in picking out significant sites, their identification need not always

be exact. In this case I do not think the site is a monastic one. It is not possible to say for certain that the site relates to the 'parcel of land built with towers' of Sir John Bulmer but there is enough evidence to consider its presence a possibility in any future examination of this site.

1. J.S. Brewer and J. Gairdner eds. 'Calendar of VIII letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII', XII (2) 741.
2. 'Monastic Chancery Proceedings', Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Vol. 88, p. 155.
3. Brewer and Gairdner, op.cit.
4. Public Record Office; SC 6 Henry. VIII, 4595.
5. A Smith, 'Placenames of the North Riding', p.61.
6. Rev. W. Eastmead, 'Historia Rievallensis' 1824, p.445.
7. 'Royal Visitation of 1559', Surtees Society, Vol. 187, 1972, p.68
8. Rev. F.H. Weston, 'History of Lastingham', 1914, p.67.



Elizabethan Gentry of Ryedale and Pickering Lythe

by John Rushton

You could not see it or touch it; it might cost you to keep it, and even more to raise it, but in the days of Queen Elizabeth, everyone recognized the value of status. In Ryedale wapentake and in the neighbouring one, also known as the Liberty of Pickering Lythe, as in the rest of the country, people spoke of yeomen, husbandmen, craftsmen and artificers, journeymen, labourers, even rogues and vagabonds. They spoke too, but less familiarly, of nobility and gentility enshrined in titles like Earl, Marquis, Baron, Knight, Esquire and Gentleman. Words like Lady, Dame and Mistress, were no less terms of distinction.

Elizabeth acceded to the throne on 17 November 1558 and died on 24 March 1603. Ryedale wapentake, part of the area covered by this study, reached from the crest of the Howardian hills, over Rye basin up to the watershed of the North York Moors and east from Hambleton top towards the River Seven and the Derwent beyond Malton. Here it met the Liberty of Pickering Lythe similarly extensive but lying entirely north of the Derwent and that vanished - or straightened - river, the Haverford. It embraced, somewhat oddly, Filey north of the ravine where the church was, so that its inhabitants in death made their last journey from the East to the North Riding. Pickering Lythe ran up to the moor tops, even including Goathland, where he who perambulated the bounds could look down to Danby, Egton, Whitby, in the valley of the Esk. The compass of the two wapentakes is not dissimilar to that the Georgian, William Marshall, called the Vale of Pickering. Definitions sit uneasily around social facts. If peers sat in the House of Lords, summoned by letters patent or writs of summons, and the nobility were confined to stated ranks of the hereditary peerage and their families, they were few in number, though many might claim descent, from them. Knights who were created from sons of peers, or others, by each monarch or his officers, had no hereditary claim. Esquires formed the next rank; they were normally elder sons of those of knightly, or higher, station, and described in the records of the time as armigerous, entitled to bear arms. The wider class of gentlemen were more loosely and variously described. The word carried overtones of 'high born', and the implication of softening, polish, and refinement. William Harrison, an Elizabethan who portrayed the changes that occurred in his time, extended the definition of gentlemen to include students of law, scholars in the universities, those professing physic and the liberal sciences, captains and counsellors who benefited the commonwealth and lived without manual labour. Men said that none could bear a bigger sail than his boat would sustain. But how did you tell who was who? Men addressed esquires and gentlemen as, 'maister' but so they did Master-mariners.

That other contemporary, Sir William Fairfax, in his

'Booke of Arms', listed one Earl, two Knights, ten esquires and fourteen gentlemen in Pickering Lythe and Ryedale in c.1584. A search through other records produces longer lists. If 16th century society was convinced that wearing a sword was one sign of a gentleman, a better claim was grounded in an officially granted coat of arms. The gentlemen tended towards becoming a distinct order, of which the acid test was a Herald's recognition of your right to bear arms, or at least long usage in doing so. The Herald's regional visitations became firmly established in the 16th century. The clearest way to gain their recognition was to produce evidence, usually a pedigree of descent from someone with a clear right to use arms. There were costs: for example, at a North Riding sessions, an absentee juror who was a gentleman, might be fined 40s, a yeoman, 30s.

The Earls and Barons

The reign opened with only six noblemen seated in Yorkshire. Such men had several major houses, some more significant than others. If no Elizabethan Earl seems to have resided permanently in the Vale of Pickering, some were at least visitors to their local houses. Noblemen formed the bulk of the largest local landowners and parts of their estates were occupied by their relations more continuously. The Earls and Barons were focal figures with patronage and influence beyond their lands, though that role was being supplanted by the growing northern activity of the Crown through the Privy Council, and the almost vice-regal Council in the North headed by its Lord President. The Neville family held the great Manor of Kirkbymoorside, with outliers in Gillamoor, Fadmoor, and the dales. The church at Kirkby shows signs of their embellishments. At various times after the Dissolution of the Monasteries, Henry Neville, Earl of Westmoreland, received grants of Keldholme and Rosedale Priories, with some of their scattered estates. He rented other estates in the Forest of Pickering. When he was buried at Staindrop in 1564 his widow's estates seem to have centred on Kirkby. The son, Charles, was then under age. Not long afterwards he became involved in the rising of the Northern Earls, a rebellion in which his Uncle Christopher also located at Kirkbymoorside, played a major part.

Thomas Manners, Lord Roos, held the Manor of Helmsley from 1508. Raised to the Earldom of Rutland in 1525, he rebuilt Belvoir as his main seat. His son, Henry, was Earl from 1543 until his death in 1563. His local estate centred on The Castle and Manor of Helmsley but included other manors at Sproxton, Ampleforth, Beadlam, Pockley, Harome, Haugh, Carlton, Hesketh and Ravensthorpe. He had the old monastery site of Rievaulx with its manors there, and at Bilsdale; with granges at Sproxton, Crosby, Coatham, and Kirkham. There is no

that at this period the Clifford Earls of Cumberland still used the sites of castles once in their hands at Malton and Brompton. Rights to the New Malton castle had been divided into thirds, and Leland suggests its virtual disuse as a gentry house in the early 16th century. The date of the stonework projecting at Brompton's castlegarth is unknown, while the legend of its decline is set in crusading times. It may have remained a house in use until c 1561 when Earl Henry sold the manors of Brompton and Ayton, with estates in nearby townships, to esquires George Dakyns and Ralph Pollard. Earl Henry's heir, George Clifford, was an interesting man. Said to have been ' bound for no other port but the port of honour, though he touched at the port of profit on the way', he set forth a small fleet under his own charge in 1587 against the Spaniards; in 1588 he commanded a ship against the Armada; and for another decade sent expeditions to the Azores, the Indies and the Mediterranean. He sold his Malton, Welham and Sutton interests to Lord Eure in 1599.

Though Ralph, Lord Eure, succeeded to much of the Clifford interest in the Vale of Pickering, his family's presence at Malton only seems to become significant towards the close of the reign when they held a third of Malton manor and castle. They also held Ayton castle. The father of the first Lord Eure, old Sir Ralph, was buried in Hutton Buscel church in 1551. It was there that the second Lord Eure tarried during the 1569 rebellion. After his death in c 1593, Ralph, the third Lord, bought the Malton estate belonging to the Earl of Cumberland. Only the lodge belonging to the mansion he built survives today: its rainheads carry dates early in King James' reign.

The Lords Latimer had their principal house at Snape and can only be seen to have used their manor houses at Scampston, Thornton Dale, Sinnington, and Danby in the early 16th century (though later use is likely). The third Baron's presence at Danby Castle is suggested by his purchase there of an ambling gelding from one, Peter Franklin, and a bequest to Glaisdale Chapel. More interesting is his link with Sinnington, where only a single building survives above ground of what the traveller, Leland, saw when he wrote, 'at Sinnington the Lord Latimer hath a fair manor place'. Much more of it was to be seen in the early 19th century than today. The medieval hall with its added 15th century windows then held an indoor screen with a central dooway, and lofts and partitions above. Workmen found Neville bosses in the roof. Yet another building stood east of a cluster of cellars and foundations. Lord Latimer married Katherine, daughter of Sir Thomas Parr of Kendal as his second wife. Six months after his death in c.1542 she became Henry VIII's sixth wife, so creating the legend that a Queen once walked on Sinnington Green. The son, John Neville, fourth Baron Latimer, kept Sinnington and Thornton manors until his death in 1577. When the estate was divided between co-heiresses, Thornton Dale Hall went to the Cornwallis family. The dowager Lady Latimer left 'daughter Cornwallis' her great chain of gold, twelve silver plates, five silver dishes, two of them for boiled meat,

and an unspecified number of silver platters.

The Knights

A handful of knightly families had great local and regional importance, though Queen Elizabeth added few to their number. The Duke of Norfolk knighted William Fairfax of Gilling in 1560. Later in the reign there were added to the order Sir Thomas Hoby, Sir William Devereux, Sir Valentine Brown, Sir John Sydenham, Sir Thomas Fairfax, Sir Charles Cavendish, Sir Thomas Gerard and Sir George Hart. By contrast the early years of King James saw the honour conferred on numerous Vale families - Belasyse, Fairfax, Cholmeley, Gibson, Eure, Dakins, Davill and Tancred, among others.

Sir Charles Cavendish, whose mother was Bess of Hardwick, bought Slingsby in 1594 where a fine castle of the Hastings family still stood, and where fragments of outer walls and corner turrets remain. Knighted during the war against the Scots, Sir Richard Cholmeley held important local Duchy of Lancaster offices and estates. When lands belonging to former monasteries came on to the market, he bought Grosmont Priory and in the course of some years, Whitby Abbey and much of its broad estates. By selling and mortgaging lands elsewhere, in 1555 he could pay £5,000 for the Manors of Whitby, Whitby Laithes, Larpool, Hawske, Stainsacre and Fyling, including its deer park. In 1563 he paid over £1000 for more Fyling estates and Robin Hood's Bay.

Lineage

The cult of armigerous lineage among esquires and gentlemen sometimes bordered on absurdity. Dame Lucy Gates' memorial in Seamer church claimed her descent from Thomas Plantagenet, a younger son of King Edward III. The memorial to Sir William Belasye in Coxwold church bore shields supposedly proclaiming descent from Norman ancestors. Christopher Stapleton's crest was a Saracen's head, a reference to the story that, under Edward III, three Kings had watched his ancestor fight and overcome a giant Saracen, elsewhere depicted as a legendary ogre.

Coats of arms offered a sort of shorthand guide to family connections; a means of proud display, they were used everywhere: on seals, clothes, windows, means of transport, and silverware. They adorned everything the Earl of Rutland owned, from his counterpanes to his trumpeter's banner. Most noble families possessed manuscript volumes of their pedigrees: Rutland's was 4 foot 6 inches wide and 9 foot 2 inches long. Some of the parvenues struck a cheering, note - crossed shinbones for a Whitby family for example. In 1550 William Strickland was allowed to sport a turkey cock crest, a reference to his claim of having minded the newly discovered birds on John Cabot's voyage home from the New World.

Those using the fine chamber added by Sir William Fairfax to Gilling Castle were surrounded by a wealth of heraldry. Above the fireplace were the Royal Arms of Queen Elizabeth. Here too was the armorial achievement of the knight himself with quarterings for Fairfax,

Malabisse, Etton, Carthorpe, Ergham and Follyfoot. Below were shields recording his sisters' marriages to Belasyse, Curwen, Vavasour and Roos. The windows were decorated with more Fairfax, Stapleton and Constable shields. A frieze held painted trees, one for each wapentake in the county, from the branches of which 450 family emblems hung.

Marriage

Strict limits governed the choice of a husband or wife: to look beyond them was to risk a union of ox and ass, a betrayal of family, dishonourable to you and your descendants. Most marriages for older sons and daughters were kept within the connection. The same surnames occur on pedigree after pedigree across the country, though younger brothers and sisters, less well recorded, may have been more localised and less controlled. The practise of sending young people to be reared together in other households helped to make links, but the key was the arranged marriage. Starkly material considerations were rarely far from view and reached a peak in the Court of Wards which was virtually a Department of State for auctioning control of the assets of under age heirs until they came of age, and often of their marriage as well.

A relation might buy a wardship, as did Margery Hutchinson for her husband's son and heir in 1560. More often marriage contracts were made between parents. As soon as George Manners of Helmsley had arrived to attend the Inns of Court at London in 1586, Roger Manners wrote to his father, John, enquiring if he would like Sir Henry Darcy's daughter for George, 'Least to give will be £2000'. John Dawney paid William, Lord Eure, a £2000 dowry for a daughter in instalments. Edward, Earl of Rutland, left 400 marks to Sir Thomas Manners' daughter, Mary, 'so as she marry a gentleman having 300 marks a year, land, or heir to a gentleman so endowed'. Marrying for love was not unknown. They called it 'fantasy' or 'fancy', a thought perhaps lingering in the 'fancy man' of earlier in our own century. Sir John Forster wrote in 1586, 'I understand by Sir Thomas Gray that there is a contract of marriage between him and Lady Katharine Nevill, one of the daughters of the late Earl of Cumberland (sic), and I perceive that he has such a good liking for her and she of him, that they have such a contract between themselves that they cannot go back again but are man and wife before God'. Sir Richard Cholmeley of Whitby had already paid £1,000 down, part of the portion for his favourite daughter, Katharine, to marry Lord Lumley, when she went down on her knees and said she could never love Lumley. 'Rather than marry thee against thy liking I will lose my money', he fondly agreed. Katharine had fallen for a younger son, a gentleman, one Dutton who was employed in the house to teach her singing and dancing. She married him and her father left her over £500 a year anyway.

But when Francis Cholmeley married without his father, Sir Richard's, consent, the estate was put into entail. Francis' choice, Mrs Jane Bulmer, was a lady of good family but 'of no good fame'. Indeed father thought she

was of a humour he liked better for a mistress than a wife. Another of the Cholmeleys, Henry, when in debt pulled his son from Cambridge and married him to Susannah Legard. Though only 16 she had a portion of £2,000. Six weeks later Sir Henry packed his son off back to college. But Susannah's slender beauty had turned the young man's head: half way to Cambridge he turned his body homewards as well.

Character and Appearance

Personality is hard to distinguish outside rare primary sources like the Cholmeley Memoirs and the Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby of Hackness. Children, grandchildren and great grandchildren bring to their stories of their ancestors the ideas of a later age, while Lady Hoby's Diary is far too religious in its preoccupations to be representative. It needs the lustiness of some of Aubrey's 'Brief lives', and a leavening of paganism and scepticism to give balance. Men categorized each other according to their 'humour'. Thus Sir Henry Carey was 'choleric but not malicious'. The younger Sir Richard Cholmeley was said to have a naughty spirit, though he could well bridle it, 'when any might take advantage thereby', and he was well natured. Some though Sir Thomas Posthumous Hoby a fine justice of the peace, to others he was 'the busiest sauciest little jack in all the country', a scurvy urchin, a spindle shanked ape who 'would have his oar in anybody's boat'.

Notions of comely men and beautiful women were quite different to our own. A man's protruding stomach might be thought to have something dignified about it, while ladies sought round faces with high whitened foreheads, the whole down to the breasts, a pale panorama of cherry lips and reddened cheeks - Spenser's 'roses in a bed of lillies'. A few miniatures recorded it all but so far there were none of the giant portraits that would one day fill new halls and galleries. Word pictures had to do instead. For instance, Sir William Pickering who succeeded to the Oswaldkirk estate in 1542 was accounted a 'brave, wise and comely English gentleman'. Roger Cholmeley who died in 1538 was 'a black, proper, stout man'. His elder son, Richard, who lived until 1583 was 'tall of stature and withal big and strong made having in his youth a very active able body, bold and stout; his hair and eyes black and his complexion very brown insomuch as he was called the great black knight of the north.' His son, Francis, was another tall black man. No doubt to her chagrin, Susannah Legard 'passed under the notion of a brown woman', though she had light chestnut hair, grey eyes, and a very clear complexion.

Clothes

Personal adornment was the more important in a society where wealth was concentrated but there were few goods to spend it on. That Yorkshire was well within the orbit of fashion is suggested by the fine Fairfax and Belasyse memorials in Gilling and Coxwold churches. Yorkshire gentry and other wills abound with detailed bequests of single items of clothing. Fashion was in force; 'the fantastical folly of our nation', according to William

Harrison, designed by fickle headed tailors to draw customers to more expense of money'. Judging by wills which tend to deal with things thought of particular value, clothes were of a great deal more interest to some than to others. Christopher Hewerdine, a gentleman of Kirkbymoorside who died in 1593 gave Thomas Willoughby his best 'frese' coat, James Carlton his 'worse' frese coat and Ann Pearcye his old frese gown. Jane Maddison got his felt hat.

When John Manners Esq. of Helmsley was needed to go on a foreign journey, his brother, the Earl of Rutland, sent a trunk by the York carrier containing a gown made with white satin sleeves, made by a Mr Brown, 'who had enough to make an upper body, according to fashion'. One, Richard Wolfe left a black cloak to his wife, Marion, but took off the silver hooks on it and gave them to his son, William.

Sir William Pickering's wardrobe is remarkable even by our standards: he had 25 best shirts. He even had women's clothes. He was of tall stature handsome and very successful with women, 'he is said to have enjoyed the intimacy of many and great ones'. His contemporaries briefly thought the highest in the land to be within his grasp. Yet Queen Elizabeth stayed unwed and as was often the case with those near her, so did Sir William. He left her a jewel worth 200 marks.

House and Home

Only a little is known about the houses that the gentry owned. Even the location of many in the Vale is doubtful. Later change, even in a small village, can reduce a manor house to manor farm or cottage. Victorian or Edwardian house names often identify granges that were never monastic, or a Roxby Manor that never housed a Cholmeley. Even where the site is certain the building of those days may be represented by field bumps, a ruined remnant, a far later house. After an extensive, though far from complete, survey the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments had to say that no house had been found, built before the end of the 17th Century, complete enough to show the original plan. This is even more true if we go back to 1603, for much that survives, whether in fact, in record, or in drawing, was of Stuart construction.

The gentry families in the Vale of Pickering in Elizabethan times were more likely to modify old structures than to build new houses. One fairly large group inherited old castles. That at Pickering passed from the Crown to the Earls of Lancaster and back to the Crown and, by the period in question, seemed to have ceased to house even a Steward. In 1536 Leland reported the timber lodges in the inner court to be in a ruined state. By 1538 only the New Hall and chapel were in good repair. The Constable, Sir Richard Cholmeley felt able to treat it as a quarry for buildings elsewhere. Another Crown castle, at Scarborough, had a hall and a tower fit for use, but an associated building at Northstead appears to have been used wherever a residence was needed. Even this 'Northstead Manor house' was decaying in 1537. In Edward VI's reign Sir Richard Cholmeley used its timbers to build a new Hall, the old one going to a

shepherd till it fell. Early in Elizabeth's reign there remained a parlour and chamber reached by stairs over a low house. Yet Sir Richard was sometimes recorded residing at Scarborough.

Seamer Manor was described as a castle in 1547. An 18th century sketch shows great ruins, represented today by green banked footings west of Seamer church, and one standing wall with doorway, perhaps of the chapel. Only excavation or new records will tell if it was modernised for the Gates family to whom Queen Mary granted the land in c.1536. Even Gilling was an old castle modified, to such effect that the 14th century tower house is almost forgotten until you go inside.

Helmsley was a complete and massive early castle set amidst ditches and banks of the 12th and 13th centuries, probably in continuous use at least until the early 16th century. It was rebuilt in the 1570s within the existing framework. On the west side of the courtyard a range of new rooms had mullioned and transomed windows, wall panelling, inlaid wood chimney pieces, and plastered ceilings.

Manor Vale, Kirkbymoorside, was the site of the Earl of Westmoreland's castle which, giving name to Castlegate, probably influenced the rest of the town in a northerly direction. It was separate from the earlier Stuteville castle though like it, it backed on to the great park. Humberstone's description of the stone built manor house partly covered with lead, partly with slate, as 'a removing house for the earls when their pleasure was to come, hunt, and take pastime', probably fails to do the castle justice. He rated it 'a good house for a gentleman but simple for an Earl'.

In Sir John Constable's time Hackness already had its old mansion place 'in metely' repair' with hall, parlour, great chamber, chapel, bed chamber, closet, and many other lodgings. There were two kitchens, a buttery, pantry, brewhouse, kiln, barn, bakehouse, and stables with a garden and orchard. The demesne extended to 54 acres. There were water mills, a walkmill, and a dovecot for 100 pair of doves which was pulled down in 1798 because it obscured the view from the new Hall.

Running the County

Though Council in the North played something of a role in county government, more was done by men who received the Queen's commission. The most important was the commission of the peace. Justices of the peace handled a growing volume of legislation and instruction from above. In the year before Elizabeth's accession, a letter from Queen Mary and her consort Philip of Spain via the Council required the performance of certain duties. The Justices were to appoint overseers in each parish to enquire how all householders maintained themselves; they were to provide work, and persuade to work, those without means to support themselves, and to imprison, or whip, the idle. They were to search for strangers and absentees, examine harbours, and notice things admiss. This besides giving due attention to statutes for the licensing of ale and tippling houses, for maintaining archery, for stopping those who kept and

frequented bowling alleys. They were to prevent exploitation of corn supplies, stamp out the theft of horses, the carrying of weapons, robberies, rebellions and bad behavior in churches and churchyards. They were to encourage watchkeeping and the maintenance of highways.

North Riding Justices of the Peace included (besides members of the Council in the North);-

1559 John, Lord Latimer; Nicholas Fairfax, Gentleman; Antony Hunter of Thornton; George Dakins of East Cowton; and James Fox.

1562 Henry Manners, Earl of Rutland; William Eure, Lord Eure; Henry Gates of Seamer; William Fairfax, Knight, of Gilling; Roger Dalton of Kirkby Misperton.

1561 Richard Cholmeley, Knight.

1584 Edward Manners, Earl of Rutland; William Eure, Lord Eure; John Manners, Knight (brother of the Earl); John Gibson, Lawyer, (Judge of the Prerogative Court of York); Roger Meynell, Lawyer, Steward of the Bishopric of Durham; Henry Gates, Knight (sometime Receiver General of the Court of Augmentations); Roger Dalton; Francis Cholmeley; Thomas Saville; Edward Gates; Robert Briggs of Malton (a barrister).

They gathered rates - from 51 Ryedale townships for bridges in 1574. The next year they enquired of robberies 'by some young gentlemen and others riding and travelling abroad as masterless men received in gentlemen's houses and allowed to live idly in market towns'. In 1588 they listed those in Ryedale 'fit to lend Her Majesty £50 and £25'. Only Sir William Fairfax was deemed capable of affording £50, while six were assessed at £25.

In 1597 the justices appointed Robert Hunter, Gentleman, to supervise William Solett, gardener, repair the North Riding half of Malton bridge. Commissions went to Sir Richard Cholmeley and John Egglefield to enquire at York touching the lunacy of Guy Fairfax. Other commissioners presided over sewers, and the export trade.

A high honour with expensive social obligations - 'enough to undo a poor man' was the office of High Sheriff of Yorkshire, whose once significant functions had been whittled away. Much was made of the duty of meeting the Assize Judges at the start of York Assize week when the sheriff turned out with as many of his kin and tenantry in ceremonial dress as he could muster - as many as three hundred might appear. But as a list of Yorkshire gentry pricked by the Queen for the task in the years between 1550 and 1600 shows, only Sir Richard

Cholmeley and two Fairfaxs were chosen from the Vale of Pickering.

And so

We lack their conversation and what they laughed at. Those 'beneath them' were not so far beneath that it couldn't be said, ' better head of the yeomanry than tail of the gentry'. William Camden, who lived until 1623, recorded some of the wisdom of the time. 'A dog hath his day and a cat may look upon a King. Age and wedlock tame man and beast. As long liveth a merry man as a sad. Jack would be a gentleman if he could speak French'.

To be continued....

A list of some sources.

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A History of Goathland

by Alice Hollings, North York Moors National Park, 1990 (revised edition), 116pp., £5.95.

Many qualities are required of local historians. They need to be jacks (if not necessarily masters) of numerous trades, from geology and genealogy to industrial archaeology. They must get their boots dirty tramping their patch, and should expect to spend long, dusty hours ferreting in friendly neighbours' attics, as well as exploring the more orthodox resources of archives and reference libraries. They have to combine inquisitiveness with scepticism, thoroughness with intuition. Yet all these qualities are of little avail if they lack the two essential ingredients: fascination with their subject, and the common touch. This last is vital because through the writer must be scholarly, he or she is not primarily addressing other scholars.

The 'chapelry' of Goathland, nestling in the heart of the North York Moors near the headwaters of the various becks which combine to form the Murk Esk, had the great good fortune to find just such a paragon in Mrs Alice Hollings. Born and bred in the township at the end of the last century, she returned to live there when her husband retired, and devoted years to teasing out the strands of Goathland's often complicated past. Her final account, *Goathland: the story of a moorland village*, appeared in 1971 and was hailed as a model village history. It wore its learning lightly and the careful historical narrative was spiced with genial asides on Plough Stots, quoits, clogs, the overseers of the poor, and the Prior of Malton's kippers. Mrs Hollings also largely solved the structural problem of tracing the early history of a disparate cluster of settlements without allowing her narrative to disintegrate.

The more recent history of the district is likewise covered capably, not least as regards the early coming of the railway (originally horse-drawn and now the privately run North Yorkshire Historical Railway), and the short-lived Beck Hole Ironworks. The author is rightly scathing

about the Whitby Iron Company's lack of concern for its employees, some of whom came from as far afield as Cornwall. Indeed throughout her account she is careful to eschew the romantic view of merry peasants gambolling in an idyllic landscape, while conveying to the full the impressively staunch quality of their lives.

It is not surprising, then, that the North York Moors National Park has added a re-issued (and re-titled) edition of Mrs Hollings' study to its growing list of publications. With some revision by the editor, Jill Renney, and with the co-operation of Mrs Hollings' daughter, it is an enjoyable volume, enhanced by a judicious selection of early photographs. There are also excellent maps, though in a few instances these are not wholly integrated with the text. The first settlement-site discussed by Mrs Hollings, for example, is the 'Hermitage', but this does not appear as such on the map on page 9, and since the maps are not listed in the contents the reader has no way of telling that a later map (page 22) will pin-point the site. Another very minor blemish which might be rectified in due course, is the use of italics in the text for two distinct purposes: for early spellings of place-names, like *Godeland*, and for terms such as *fee-farm* and *assart* which are defined in the Glossary at the end. A better system for the latter category might be to mark them with an asterisk - and add a note at the beginning of the text directing the reader to the Glossary.

This reader's first experience of Yorkshire was as a small boy on a family holiday spent in Goathland before the Second World War. His two most abiding memories are of the dramatic scenery as the train puffed up from Pickering, and of the tangy smell after rain of the bracken and sheep cropped grass surrounding the hotel. Both, thank goodness, are still to be enjoyed sixty years later, and Mrs Hollings' story evokes them to the full.

John McDonnell.

Helmsley Archaeological Society. Summer Excursions 1990-91

Members of the Society are fortunate to have within easy reach landscapes of interest to all natural historians, not least to archaeologists. The Society's summer excursions are popular events - and for the last two years have been favoured by unusually good weather.

Duncombe Park

Our first excursion in 1990 was to Duncombe Park, where Lord Feversham took us on a tour of the house and gardens shortly after they had been opened to the public following major restoration work. This was a privilege accorded in recognition of the research into the estate's history carried out in recent years by several members of the Society.

Duncombe Park was one of the eighteenth century's earliest ventures in creating a naturalistic landscape setting for a great house, a prototype for the later work of Repton, and Capability Brown. Lord Feversham explained his management policy and his ideas for future development of the estate in co-operation with the National Park Authority and English Heritage. The old broadleaved woodland will be conserved in the interest of wildlife diversity, with minimal management, while more public access will be facilitated with waymarked paths. The broad outline of the eighteenth and nineteenth century lay-out of the park and gardens will be retained.

Dalby Forest Rabbit Warrens.

This was a joint meeting with members of the York Excavation Group. Dr Spratt has made a detailed study of the almost forgotten rural industry in which rabbits were reared in extensive warrens. Together with Forestry Commission Chief Ranger, Charles Critchley, he led us to several locations in Dalby Forest where the remains of some surprising structures are hidden among the trees. These include inclosure walls, and the 'types' - that is, traps - consisting of pits lined and roofed with stone. We were not surprised to learn that the warreners often became very unpopular with neighbouring farmers.

Rosedale East Ironstone Mines

Graham Lee led a walk around part of the Rosedale East Mines, a site where working was abandoned less than a century ago.

Already the remains are taking on the aspect of venerable and enigmatic ruins. Indeed, as Graham told us, there is much about the construction and functioning of the calcining kilns that is poorly documented and now obscure. English Heritage and the National Park Committee are working on a plan to conserve some of the crumbling structures.

The trackbed of the railway which carried the ore to Teesside follows the contour of the Valley and provides a walkers' trail giving good access to the installations as well as fine panoramic views. Brilliant evening sun with

the southern sky black with storm clouds, provided a memorable backdrop to the scene.

Mount Grace Priory

Mount Grace Priory is the best preserved of England's Carthusian Houses, and enough remains above ground to give a fair insight into the solitary life of a monk in such an establishment.

Dr Glyn Coppock of English Heritage is directing excavations in the kitchen area, where there was much alteration to the buildings during the century before dissolution. He gave us a very full account of the Priory's history, and we inspected a plausible reconstruction (in the original building), of the austere furnishings of a monk's cell, as well as those of a work room. The remains of a quite elaborate system of water supply and drainage seemed to indicate a proper concern for health and convenience.

Burton Agnes and Skipsea

In the late summer of 1990 we ventured a little beyond our usual bounds to Burton Agnes and Skipsea in East Yorkshire.

Burton Agnes Hall was built between 1599 and 1609, and is remarkable for the relatively small amount of alteration to the structure since then. The original staircase and the woodcarving in the Great Hall are particularly fine. The Long Gallery had been abused in the nineteenth century by subdivision into bedrooms after most of the ceiling fell down. However enough remained to enable Francis Johnson to restore the whole to its original form in the 1970s. It now houses the Impressionist and Modern paintings collected by the late Mr Marcus Wickham-Boyston.

Also at Burton Agnes the twelfth century manor house of the Stutevilles survives in a fifteenth century modification which preserves the original stone-vaulted undercroft, and nearby stands the largely Norman parish church.

After Burton Agnes those with energy to spare proceeded to Skipsea for a walk round the earthwork of the large motte and bailey castle. William I installed one of his wife's relations here as overlord of Holderness, then, just as in more recent times, a strategically sensitive part of the East coast.

West Heslerton

In the last excursion of 1991 we reviewed the progress of West Heslerton, the first excavation in Northern England of a major Anglian settlement site of the fifth and sixth centuries.

Dominic Powlesland claimed to have forgotten that we were coming, but then rose to the occasion splendidly. We were given an overview of what had become a very extensive dig, which is bringing fresh light to a

particularly obscure period in the 'Dark Ages'. As a result many ideas on early Anglo-Saxon settlement in Britain will need some revision.

The Anglian site stands on well drained sloping ground leading up to the chalk escarpment of the Wolds. On lower ground about one KM to the North, an area of Romano-British occupation had been abandoned in the early fifth century (perhaps due to flooding) about the

time that the village was first established. We were shown the evidence for distinct habitation and industrial zones, and for the existence of wooden buildings of considerable size and quality, as well as *grubenhäuser* with their rubbish collections. Much has been learned about the pre-Christian Anglian lifestyle and economy during the two centuries of the site's occupation.

Basil Wharton

Review

'Archaeology in National Parks', Edited by R.F. White and R. Iles. National Park Staff Association in conjunction with the Yorkshire Dales National Park, 1991, 68pp., £4.50.

The book is based on papers given at an Archaeology Workshop organised by the National Park Staff Association and hosted by the Yorkshire Dales National Park in 1989. This brought together for the first time those most concerned with archaeology in the Parks with representatives of the statutory body, English Heritage. As the introduction makes clear, not the least of the problems discussed was how to explore, record, conserve, and administer sites and monuments in the eleven National Parks (the creation of a twelfth, the New Forest, is currently under discussion), on a less than munificent central government grant. At £13.4 million in 1990-91 this sum, which has to be spread over 10% of the land area of England and Wales, is less than the subsidy given to the Royal Opera House, Covent Garden.

Red tape is a consequence of the diverse ownership of the land, and of the way legislation has developed haphazardly. Archaeological Officers, keen to get to grips with some of the richest sites in Northern Europe, have to cope with an infinite variety of grades and categories into which projects must be put before access, let alone finance, can be obtained. Here it must be said that the ordinary reader's sympathy can be strained by the authors' fondness for groups of initials. However alertly

one notes their meaning, it is rapidly forgotten.

In our overcrowded age a major attraction of the Parks is that, to the untutored eye, the moors and hills look empty. In reality periods of occupation and exploitation were followed by withdrawal, so that the traces of an earlier age were left virtually undisturbed. Later, the upland areas fell under the ruthless demands and methods of the Industrial Revolution. When the mines and quarries were exhausted, or superseded, another withdrawal took place. Public interest in these abandoned sites is growing apace. Archaeological Officers must find money to stabilize structures which are sometimes enormous, and prevent them falling further into decay. One of the papers in the book describes how at Duddon, near Broughton in Furness, the most complete charcoal fired blast furnace in England has been rescued from the encroaching forest. Crindledykes Lime Kiln in Northumberland has been similarly preserved, as have among others, the Llanwrst Mine in Snowdonia, and a number of wind pumps on the Broads. Work has just started at the Rosedale Iron Works in our own North York Moors National Park (see page 7). It is all being done with loving care. For example, Andrew Lowe, Conservation Officer of the Lake District National Park, stresses that the management of Duddon will concentrate on retaining the quiet character of the surroundings. 'The site has a splendid 'feel' to it', he writes, 'visitors often refer to the experience of discovering a temple in the jungle.'

R.A.Taylor

